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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1959 -- DECEMBER 1959



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

July 1959--December 1959

January 1960

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, feels that Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the United States has eased world tensions. Khrushchev is said to have given the American people a better understanding of the "peaceful foreign policy" of the Soviet Union, the nature of the socialist system, and the achievements of socialist construction. The Party claims this new awareness of the American people is forcing a change in United States foreign policy away from the Dulles "brinkmanship" policies.

While communists feel the "thaw" in the cold war has begun, they emphasize that peace still must be "fought for." They condemn "reactionary" Government leaders and "giant monopolists" for opposing all of Khrushchev's proposals for world trade and total disarmament.

The Party repeatedly charges "United States intervention" in Cuban affairs, claiming that our Government is plotting to overthrow the Castro regime and set up a new government in Cuba subservient to the "Wall Street trusts." Also, communists continue to condemn American

support of the "Nazi-tainted" Bonn regime and maintenance of West Berlin as a center for espionage against the socialist countries. They repeat their demands for recognition of both the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China.

In all phases of international relations, the central theme of the Communist Party, USA, has been that all actions of the Soviet Union reveal a desire for world peace while the actions of the United States continue to incite world tensions.

On domestic issues, the Communist Party concentrates its propaganda and activities on closer unity with the people. The Party has stepped up its participation in political activities. Added emphasis is being placed on mass opposition to "candidates of reaction" and the promotion of "pro-peace, pro-labor, and pro-civil rights" candidates at all levels. The goal of this struggle is to raise the socialist consciousness of the workers, farmers, and Negro people, leading to the formation of an independent, socialist-led farmer-labor party.

Communists claim some of the anti-Soviet prejudices of the American people have been removed by the Khrushchey visit. They believe that this favorable reaction and the Party's constant stressing of the "built-in"

problems of capitalism, such as, economic recessions, unemployment, corruption, and excessive military expenditures, can make possible the coming of the "era of socialism" in this country in the latter half of the century.

The labor movement, according to the Party, is confronted with a "determined and well-organized big-business offensive." The recent "labor reform" bill, which is being vociferously denounced by the Party, is said to be only the beginning of this offensive. Disappointing results from the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco and failure of union leadership adequately to fight the "anti-labor" trend reflect the growing crisis in the labor movement.

Continued charges of United States interference in Latin America and in the Far East appear throughout Party publications. The success of Cuba's revolution, according to the Party, has brought new hope to the "anti-imperialist struggle" in all Latin-American countries. Communists feel this has changed the tactics of the United States but not its aims of domination of Latin America.

The Supreme Court, the Congress, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

have been subjects of considerable contempt in recent Party propaganda. These bodies of the Federal Government, according to the Party, have failed to protect the rights of the American people. Instead, through court decisions, repressive legislation, and red-baiting investigations, they have supported the forces of "reaction."

Communists charge that "racism" continues as a deadly menace in America because of the "dual system of justice" in the South and the failure to end discriminatory practices in trade-unions. The Party calls for intensive united action of "democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Dixiecrat forces" to realize, for all people, equal economic, political, and social status.

School integration and juvenile delinquency problems in the United States have received prominent attention in the Party press. While magnifying these issues, the Party constantly stresses the lack of such difficulties in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Party deems it imperative that a Marxist-oriented youth organization be formed as quickly as possible. All technical and scientific accomplishments of the Soviet Union have received conspicuous notice and are attributed to socialist "freedom of science."

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, believes there has been an easing of world tensions since the Khrushchev visit to the United States. As a result, the Party press will undoubtedly even more openly parrot the Soviet Union's "peaceful foreign policy" line by prominently featuring the Party's support of Soviet disarmament proposals, trade with socialist countries, recognition of East Germany and Red China, ban of nuclear weapons, and an end to the cold war.
2. The Party emerged from its 17th National Convention in mid-December, 1959, determined to be a more decisive force in American life. Therefore, we can expect communists to increase their participation in and organization of united front movements in all spheres of activity, with special emphasis on the forthcoming elections.
3. Communists continue their censorious attitude toward trade-union leaders for their lack of determined opposition to "anti-labor" legislation. The Party press is expected to further deride these union leaders, as well as the recent Landrum-Griffin bill and its supporters in Government and the business world. Issues raised as a result of unemployment, automation, and "runaway" shops will undoubtedly receive continued prominent attention.
4. National movements arising in Latin America, Africa, and Asia can be expected to receive the same widespread support in the Party press as has been true in the past. At the same time, "American imperialist interests" will be condemned if and when our Government takes any position in opposition to revolutionary groups in those areas.
5. The Party claims the Government condones civil rights violations through its policy of "passivity." We, therefore, must anticipate that the Party will give widespread publicity to any further racial problems arising among Negro, foreign-born, religious, or youth groups.

6. The Party will undoubtedly exert more effort toward the immediate building of a new communist youth organization. As for the over-all program, future communist activities in this country will almost certainly be mainly concerned with uniting the Party more closely with all segments of the population, using the peace issue as the unifying influence.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. Mounting pressures and a new awareness of the nature of socialism are forcing changes in United States foreign policy.
2. Peace is the central issue of today but must be "fought for."
3. Reactionary opposition to complete disarmament can be overcome by the will of the people.
4. Although a "certain thaw" in the cold war has developed, "peace-lovers must unite" to defeat the advocates of world tension.
5. Richard M. Nixon has attempted to keep alive the "defunct Dulles policy of negotiation from a mythical position of strength."
6. Nikita S. Khrushchev's visit to the United States has eased world tension by dispelling much of the effects of the "mighty machinery of opinion-making in the U.S." against the Soviet Union.
7. Opponents of trade with the Soviet Union must be defeated by "positive steps" from American workers.
8. The Party supports the Cuban revolution and condemns American interference in Cuban affairs.
9. America's rearming and support of the "Nazi-tainted Bonn regime" are continuing sources of cold war incitement.
10. The Party demands that the United States give full recognition to the People's Republic of China.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Changing United States Foreign Policy

"THE COLD-WAR policies of 'positions of strength' and brinkmanship have proven themselves increasingly bankrupt. In this, a major factor has been also the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

"As a result, American big business has been compelled to begin a painful reexamination of its policies--in the words of Dulles himself, an 'agonizing reappraisal'--and to take a more realistic approach to the situation in which it finds itself."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"...a change in direction of foreign policy...shaping up in this country.

"...an important first step away from the inflexible Dulles 'brinkmanship' policies, produced by a number of pressures. Among them are the growing bankruptcy of the Dulles line, the mounting force of popular peace sentiment here and abroad, the sharpening of contradictions and divisions among the big capitalists, and the great achievements of the socialist countries.

"Underlying these is a change in the relationship of forces on a world scale, with a mounting challenge to the dominant position of American capitalism from a number of sources, confronting the monopolies with an accumulation of increasingly serious problems."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"The foreign policy of Wall Street and the Administration is not only aggressive, reactionary and warlike. It is also bankrupt and doomed

to failure. For the bipartisan cold-war program of Big Business runs counter to the genuine national interests of the American people, who are threatened with annihilation in the event of a new world war. Even now this adventurist imperialist policy is meeting increased opposition among the most varied sectors of our population, including some influential business circles."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 27.

2. Peace Policy

"...Peace...emerges more than ever as the central issue of our day. It is to this that we must apply ourselves with all the energy, skill and ingenuity at our command. It is to this that our work in all other fields must be related."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"...Upon the outcome of the now-unfolding struggle for a policy of peace may hinge the fate of mankind. The aroused action of the people for peace can ensure victory in this noble cause. Moreover, their organized intervention will, by influencing the character of the peace, open the way to a new period of social progress."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"...the prospects for world peace are much stronger today...as the result of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower get-together.

"This get-together represents a defeat for the Dulles brinkmanship policies. They signify a thaw in the cold war. And the hope of saving many millions of people from nuclear death is brighter by far."

"But Peace must be fought for... For 'aggressive and reckless giant monopolists still dream of ruling a world molded in their own image... and pin their hopes on Cape Canaveral, not Camp David.'

"... 'the cold war is not yet defrosted. The evil plans of the warmongers... must be decisively defeated. The peace of the world, our lives and the lives of our children, hang on this.' "

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 4.

"... The security and the very survival of the American people demand that they halt the present foreign policy and impose a new policy on the government. Such a policy will not arise automatically from the dangers and failures of the present one, but only through a broader, more determined and consistent struggle by the American people to end the cold war, to achieve peaceful coexistence."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 28.

"NEEDED in America most of all is organized and crystalized political expression for a peace--at grass-roots as well as among the top-brackets in Labor and other popular organizations."

"... it needs emphasis and re-emphasis--for the enemies of peace, those who profit by the Cold War never sleep. Their machination endanger our country--and the world."

The Worker,
August 23, 1959, p. 14.

3. Disarmament

"... the complete and early disarmament of all the powers. To this great goal, Premier Khrushchev's speech at the UN* was an outstanding contribution.

* United Nations

"The war-making imperialists are already carrying on a determined campaign to defeat Khrushchev's historic speech, but their efforts will fail. He was speaking for humanity, and the great body of the masses of the globe will rally behind his imperishable plans. This plan points out the only road to drive a death nail into the coffin of imperialist war, and it will free the world's masses from the wasted billions of war, as well as its wholesale slaughter. It opens the way to prosperity and progress generally. To wipe out all war armaments is a key task of world socialism."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 49-50.

"...the way to disarmament is not going to be an easy one, particularly in our own country, where many elements, who profit from arms production or war, are powerful enough to set up a multitude of roadblocks...."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 4.

"KHRUSHCHEV HAS ALREADY made a great contribution to the realization of peace through his address to the United Nations Assembly, in which he called for complete disarmament...."

"The top brass at the Pentagon, the State Department, and Wall Street, which calls their tune, don't want disarmament or peace."

"...these reactionary forces are against disarmament of any kind. Their concern is to keep the U.S. and its satellite military establishments

in a position of superiority to those of the socialist world. What a contrast this anti-human aim is to that of the Soviet Union, with its willingness, despite its great armed power, to bring about total world disarmament!"

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE now have the chance to promote peace, with Khrushchev's proposal for total disarmament as the first point on the agenda. Write President Eisenhower, telling him you want serious consideration of the Soviet disarmament proposal.

"Get your neighbors, church, club and union to pass resolutions on this to send to the President and members of Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,
September 27, 1959, p. 2.

"... disarmament... has become the subject of intense discussion on all sides and is being regarded as a realistic hope by ever greater numbers of Americans."

"The Communist Party has always maintained that the American working people are not hopelessly entrapped in a dilemma of war or crisis-- that they can and must fight for such a peacetime economy as a far better alternative for themselves. We must support and give leadership to these struggles today."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

4. Cold War Thaw

"... The cold war... has bled the American people white and brought us time and again to the brink of atomic war.

"But the American people demonstrated anew this year their desire for cooperation with the Soviet Union for peace when they welcomed Soviet Premier Khrushchev to our shores as an emissary of peace. The people hailed the joint declarations of Eisenhower and Khrushchev to work together to ease the tensions of the cold war and to negotiate for peace.

"The American people must learn the lesson of the period since World War II, and not permit the cold warriors, to destroy the prospects of an era of peace. They must demand of Congress and the President that they agree with the Soviet Union for an atomic war ban, for disarmament and for an early summit meeting."

Editorial, The Worker,
December 6, 1959, p. 2.

"...the profundity of America's grassroot desire to live in amity with that other great power was scarcely realized by many of the best friends peace has here. That has bearing on this fact: that the bias of the cold-war is not deep among our people. That bias is artificial, and must be injected a la McCarthyism for it to exist."

"...America's peace-lovers must unite to defeat the forces that want the past, a world filled with tension, arms, and finally, war.

"But when all is summed up...one realizes that we have here a certain thaw in the cold war. A beginning. But a beginning of enormous value to humanity."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 14.

"The cold war is far from ended. Its advocates, who are to be found in both parties (as symbolized by the Republican Rockefeller and the

Democrat Acheson) and in some Administration circles, have already launched a counteroffensive designed to undo all that has been accomplished. They will have to be defeated, and there are hard battles ahead if the potentialities inherent in the present situation are to be realized."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

5. Nixon Supporter of Cold War

"Immediately on the announcement of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower exchange visits, supporters of the cold war went into action...."

"...even among many, for whatever reason, who expressed their support of the exchange of visits, the cold-war mentality hung on. It is not accidental that Premier Khrushchev, immediately after he landed, asked the President if he had read Vice-President Nixon's address at the Convention of the American Dental Association.

" 'Setting Khrushchev straight' was the red thread of the Nixon address before the Dental Association....He considered 'incredibly naive' those who might see in the visit the opening of a new era of 'sweetness and light.' "

"Nixon did not use the occasion to help establish a better atmosphere for discussing the problems of mutual concern to both countries, but in order to keep alive the defunct Dulles policy of negotiation from a mythical position of strength. Negotiation on the basis of equality and mutual respect is foreign to this man who has been striving to don the mantle of 'peace-maker.' "

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit," ..
Political Affairs, November, 1959, pp. 8-9.

6. Khrushchev Visit Eased World Tension

"The biggest event of 1959 was the visit of Premier Khrushchev to the U.S. Not only did this trip demolish the phony picture of the Soviet people promoted by the boss-owned press, radio and TV, but it began to thaw the 'cold war' which was instigated by Truman and aggravated by Eisenhower."

Editorial, The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 2.

"THE KHRUSHCHEV visit has produced certain immediate effects of great import to the American people. It has reduced world tensions. It could well mark the beginning of a real improvement in American-Soviet relations..."

"Americans are examining and weighing the relative merits of the two systems. And they are coming more and more to realize that the socialist achievements offer no threat to them. Hence the lucid descriptions of the Soviet society presented by Khrushchev fell on interested ears."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"THE VISIT of Premier Khrushchev continues to shake the country. It is one of those rare moments in history when everyone feels a new world may be born, and hope is flying like a bright banner."

"...of course, the giant vultures of death, the great monopolies that already have conquered America and now are driving to conquest of the world. They and their army of purchased intellectuals, a gathering of skilled liars even sharper and more willing than Hitler's integrated seals,

have for decades employed all the mighty machinery of opinion-making in the U. S. as a weapon against the spread of truth about the Soviet Union. "

The Worker,
September 27, 1959, p. 8.

" 'Khrushchev's visit has underscored the urgency of realizing universal and complete disarmament, an end towards which the Soviet Premier's momentous proposals to the United Nations are an outstanding contribution. And from it millions of Americans have acquired a better understanding of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and of the nature of the socialist system and the epic achievement of socialist construction in the USSR. ' '*

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 2.

7. Trade with Soviet Union

"GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER last week shocked the nation by his appeal to force in relations with the Soviet Union. In this he set himself in direct opposition to President Eisenhower's negotiations with Soviet Premier Khrushchev on relaxing world tensions and providing an atmosphere for peaceful coexistence. The heir of the Rockefeller oil dynasty made it clear that not only is he opposed to any thawing in the cold war but that he is for turning it into a hot war if it becomes worthwhile. "

"...Rockefeller, as spokesman for a large section of finance capital, was attacking any effort to come to agreement with the Soviet Union on Khrushchev's proposal for increased trade as an opening wedge for peaceful relations. "

*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"He demanded that trade with the USSR be conducted only under rules set by Wall Street. . . ."

"The answer to Rockefeller is for every American to mobilize his friends, neighborhood, church, shop and union for continuing peace talks with the USSR, for complete disarmament and for trade with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 1.

"With no cost to the taxpayer, ending the cold war can open up billions in annual business with the socialist world. For over ten years that trade has been cut off. The Government argued that the trade embargo would weaken the socialist countries and win the cold war. But it has been a fiasco. The Soviet Union has gained ground on the United States in production, military strength, and science. It makes and sells abroad many things Washington refuses to sell it."

"No American workers gain from the East-West trade embargo. Its removal, coupled with positive steps to encourage trade with the fastest-growing market in world history, would immediately open up hundreds of thousands, and in a few years millions of jobs for American workers."

The Worker,
August 2, 1959, p. 9.

"One of the most provocative and war-like features of the Cold War situation is the economic blockade which the imperialist countries, led by the United States, are trying to enforce against all socialist lands, particularly the Soviet Union and People's China. . . . The economic boycott

is a disruptive factor on the international scene. It tends to hinder the building of world socialism, and increases the war danger; it should be abolished.... Actually, about the worst sufferers from it are the imperialist countries themselves, who through the blockade deny their own industries a great deal of much-needed trade."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 16.

8. Cuba

"HAVANA.--Here are some of the principal aspects of the new Cuba... First the outward visage of the capital--Havana. Contrary to all reports in the commercial press, tranquillity reigns."

"...Americans are being inundated, intellectually, by a tide of lies flowing from the commercial daily newspapers, the magazines, the radio, the television, the reactionaries within the State Department, and the well-heeled agents of Fulgencio Batista and his gangster-in-arms, the dictator in Santo Domingo.

"...it is necessary to bring the tidings from the new Cuba...

"...learn what the new Cuba offers its people--and its neighbors. To its people, peace, democracy, prosperity. To its neighbors, friendship, and the cooperation of men who respect each other...."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 8.

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY last week called on all Americans, 'in the first place the workers and their trade unions' to protest U. S. intervention in Cuba and 'to express their support to the people and government of Cuba.'

"The interventionist actions against Cuba 'could not be carried on without the encouragement and direct participation of American government personnel,' the party said. . . ."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 3.

"...the State Department and the Pentagon, assisted by the FBI, are busily plotting the overthrow of the Castro regime and the imposition on the Cuban people of a new government subservient to the Wall Street sugar and utilities trusts."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959,
p. 28.

"...the Communist Party national committee...

"...pledged that American Communists would do their 'utmost' to win the support of our working class and entire people to the Cuban revolution.' It greeted the 'firm national revolutionary government of Cuba and its principal leader, Fidel Castro.' "

The Worker,
August 23, 1959, p. 15.

"Instead of sending the Marines, Wall Street is applying the most cruel forms of economic pressure against the Castro reform program and against the Cuban people beating down the price of sugar, etc. Simultaneously it is using the weapon of anti-Communism, labelling every reform by the Castro government as 'Communist' and 'Moscow-inspired.' "

"This is the moment for labor and the American people--born of revolution--to give the utmost support to the Cuban revolution, to demand: Hands off Cuba!... Let every voice be raised in our country in defense of Cuba's revolution, its national independence and self-determination."

The Worker,
July 26, 1959, p. 2.

9. Germany

"...the West German government--and the arrogant Big Business circles behind it--are a most dangerous factor in the course toward alleviating tensions."

"...Dr. Adenauer has made it clear that he is unalterably opposed to any discussion of any kind of temporary solution of the Berlin question. His position is to let things slide as they are, for he is fearful that any change in status quo would rebound against the revanchists of the big German bourgeoisie who conspire to rearm, and at such a pace that they can upset any plans for East-West amity."

"The dangerous fact is that Adenauer could not be Adenauer without the support, open and covert, of mighty U.S. imperialist forces."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"...American capitalism has been rearming Germany, as it did after World War I, when it penalized the Weimar Republic, but lavishly aided with arms and money the forces that paved the way for Hitler.

"The same sort of cartel treachery to American democracy is now assisting Adenauer and his Nazi general staff. Only last month it was announced

that American finance would enable the West Germans to set up a system of atomic armaments. This move to make even more profits for the armament profiteers, can have only one meaning. It makes all the peace talk in the United Nations seem meaningless.

"This is the practice of war, not of peace."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 8.

"THE ABSENCE of a peace treaty with the two existing German states and the maintenance of West Berlin as a center for espionage and disruption against the lands of socialism, in the first place, against the German Democratic Republic, is a continuing sources of cold war incitement.

"Growing circles of the people of our country are becoming aware of this danger and begin to see that the responsibility for this lies in the first place with the most reactionary circles of United States imperialism.

"We pledge to do all in our power to awaken the American people to the peril to peace that lies in the rearming and support of the Nazi-tainted Bonn regime, in the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the U. S. "

The Worker,
October 11, 1959, p. 12.

10. Communist China

"...the Party must...demand that the United States get out of Taiwan, and keep its hands off Tibet and other territories of People's China; that the United States end its political and economic boycott of People's China, extend full diplomatic recognition to the Chinese People's Republic, and abandon its opposition to the seating of People's China in the United Nations..."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, p. 52.

"...Eugene Dennis, national secretary, on behalf of the U. S. party's national committee."

"...paid tribute to the 'unmatched valor and skill, ' with which the Communist Party of China 'organized and led the peoples' to 'victory over the foreign imperialists and feudal-capitalist reactionaries. '

"The 'self-interest and national honor' of the U. S., Dennis said, requires the withdrawal of the U. S. Seventh Fleet from Chinese waters, the abolition of U. S. bases on Taiwan, the restoration of full and equal diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations, and the replacement of Chiang Kai-shek agents in the UN by representatives of People's China."

The Worker,
September 27, 1959, p. 4.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. While many are minimizing the importance of the Khrushchev visit to the United States, the Party must act to utilize the "new fresh paths" for creating the "unity of all who want peace."
2. The rapid progress toward the "era of socialism" still requires united action by the American people.
3. Corruption, depression, and "profits above all" are built-in features of the capitalist system.
4. The "domestic cold war" against the civil liberties of the American people is nearing a crisis.
5. Dedicated efforts can now accomplish the removal of the "foreign agents" charge against the Party.
6. The Party must organize mass movements to "win friends and influence people" to accept Marxist solutions for their needs.
7. The Party must prepare for the 1960 elections by organizing mass movements around key issues, forging coalitions to oppose reactionary candidates, and promoting the election of "pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights" candidates.
8. Socialized medicine is the only cure for the "taint" of "commercialism" in the medical profession.
9. Progress of the working class, the Negro people, and the Nation depends on the rejection of the charge of a "Communist conspiracy."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Khrushchev Visit

"...the visit of Khrushchev marks the beginning of a turn in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Not yet a full turn, to be sure, but an important beginning."

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"...While the anti-Soviet prejudices have by no means been completely dissipated during the Khrushchev visit, the people are ready to listen, with less bigotry, to the actual story of socialist life...."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"
Political Affairs, November, 1959,
pp. 2, 13.

"...all peace advocates in this country must study, understand and ACT upon the historic fact that the Khrushchev visit here, and Ike's pledge to go there, indisputably marks a thaw in the cold war."

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"...the enemies of peaceful co-existence would like us to minimize this epic event; shrink it to THEIR-size; shrug our shoulders over it by brushing it off as some kind of pre-election maneuvering, or some capitalist tactic designed to befuddle the national movement for peace.

"That's their lead. We must not follow it.

"What must be done is first to fully realize the enormous positive fact of Khrushchev's visit and its even greater potential...."

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"...Herein are matters of great theoretical as well as practical gravity that require searching study and consequent action; require vision and a courage to pursue that vision, overcoming old, outdated ways of thought and work, hewing new fresh paths to the creation of that imperative unity of all who want peace."

The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 10.

"...Premier Khrushchev...had hardly finished his final TV appearance in Washington when the trained seals of television began to bark.

"The press picked up the campaign; then various politicians got into the act--like former President Harry Truman and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Vice President Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller.

"They fear the success Premier Khrushchev enjoyed here, when the overwhelming majority of the American people climaxed his journey by clamorously hailing the energetic apostle for peace."

The Worker,
October 11, 1959, p. 14.

2. Era of Socialism

"This past year has marked a historic turn, a great leap forward. 'Peace on Earth, Goodwill to All Men!' can be a reality. The era of socialism is on our horizon this last half of the century. We are living in great times.

"But these possibilities will not come without heroic struggle. To rout the war makers, achieve the rights of labor and the Negro people, abolish poverty and insecurity, will require tremendous united action by the American people."

The Worker,
December 6, 1959, p. 3.

"...we have to... show what socialism will mean for our country, to explain how it will benefit the workers, the farmers, the Negro and Puerto Rican people, the youth, the professionals--in fact all men and women striving for a better life for themselves and their children...."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 13.

"...it is now clear that no amount of persecution of the Party, its leadership and members, no disruptive elements from within can destroy that organization which is rooted in the conditions and class relations in our country..."

"The recent economic recession, the continued unemployment, the fact that automation instead of bringing blessings brings insecurity and unemployment, the stepped up offensive of Big Business against the working people, all this has also added interest in socialism and socialist ideas."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 11, 1959, p. 2.

3. Growing Problems of Capitalism

"CORRUPTION is all around us. We must learn to swim and survive with our personal honor in this vast ocean of muddy corruption. Corruption is a built-in feature of the capitalist system, whose only morality is the pursuit of private profit...."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 8.

"Capitalism, of course, has depression 'built in' into its system.... We have, in fact, had three post-war economic recessions in the last decade and chronic unemployment of three or more million, despite high military expenditures. And a fourth one is predicted for 1961...."

The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 11.

"THE MENACE of government by injunction has again raised its ugly head in American labor relations. Twice within a few weeks, the Government and the powerful corporations of America have invoked the Taft-Hartley injunction to break a strike...."

"The American people thus witness another demonstration of the naked capitalist facts of life--profits above all...."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

"...This is the beginning of an era of serious challenge, of uncertainties, of an accumulation of unresolved problems becoming steadily more aggravated. For American capitalism, life is not beginning. It is entering its decline. It is slowing up. Signs of hardening of its arteries are appearing."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs,
October, 1959, p. 4.

4. Domestic Cold War

"DESPITE the relative relaxation of tensions in world affairs, there is no comparable let-up in the domestic cold war against the constitutional rights of the American people. In important respects the dangers to our liberties have increased and may soon reach the crisis point."

"Every assault on the Bill of Rights has been justified as a 'curb on Communism'. Almost every test case and important precedent has involved Communists or 'fellow travelers'. Today, the heart of the defense of First Amendment principles is the defense of the rights of Communists. This is necessarily so since those who direct the strategy of reaction have chosen this as the battle ground."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

5. Foreign Agents Charge

"Our Party faces a great challenge. During the past decade and more it has felt the blows of McCarthyite reaction precisely because we advocated peace and friendship between our country and the Soviet Union as the only way in which peace could be maintained in the world. For this activity we were labeled 'foreign agents' and charged with support of the Soviet Union at the expense of the national interests of our own country. Today the issue of peaceful coexistence, the urgent need for improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, is on everybody's tongue. We have the greatest opportunity in our 40 years of existence to influence the outcome of the battle for life or death, if we resolutely dedicate our efforts to its realization."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 12.

"Throughout history, one of the sure signs of a dying cause, of the passing away of a social system, has been the labelling by its ideologists of the exponents of something new, of a change, as 'foreign agents'..."

"This fraud is now embodied in the bill passed by Congress, the McCarran Act. And the Courts now insist that we, the Communist Party, become a partner to this deceit by registering under its provisions. The foreign agent charge is a fraud. Ideas, like anything else, can be shipped from one place to another but they will not take root unless the soil is suitable...."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 2-3.

6. Mass Work To Win Friends and Influence People

"...the role of a Communist everywhere, whether as an individual or as part of a club, is to unite his fellow trade unionists, his neighbors, his fellow youth, around their accumulated needs, which are on many issues reaching the point of becoming unbearable."

"The real essence of our independent role is to find the forms and seize the opportunity to make Marxist solutions--socialism--more popular. It is to find more effective ways to 'win friends and influence people.' It is not to achieve 'principled' isolation, but to seek ways of bringing about mass recognition that our principles are in effect those of the people."

Mark T. Camuso, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, November, 1959, pp. 50, 51.

"...the Party's vanguard role must be exercised in such a way as safeguards the ability of Communists to remain among the masses, strengthen their ties with them and win them for the Party's mass policies. At the same time, the Party must boldly utilize all public channels for expression and activity, and intensify the fight for re-establishment of its full constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore and defend the Bill of Rights."

"Draft Political Resolution," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 41.

7. Preparing for 1960 Elections

"...three points need specific attention particularly in relation to the primaries and the elections of 1960. These are, the development of movements around specific issues and thus asserting an independent position in the development of program and platform. Secondly, it is necessary to develop independent forms of organization especially on an election district basis, precincts and wards, and thus not rely only on the regular party

organizational forms; although that must not be neglected. Thirdly, it is necessary to think and act on the basis of electing labor and Negro representatives to public office, and thus not rely only on friends of labor and the Negro people; even those with good records. Only in this way will labor and the Negro people get free from the choice of evils in many instances or be limited to unreliable friends in other instances who compromise the interests of labor and the Negro people for so-called considerations of practical politics."

Arnold Johnson, "Toward the 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 3-4.

"...the central political tasks confronting labor and the democratic forces are to organize mass movements and coalitions around key issues, to forge broad electoral coalitions to oppose the chief candidates of reaction, and to promote the nomination and election of pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates for office at all levels, including trade unionists and Negro representatives. It is also essential to build independent electoral apparatus and organizations of labor and its allies, and at the same time to popularize the concept of a mass people's party led by labor."

"Draft Political Resolution," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 38.

"IT IS OUR firm conviction that a labor-party--or some form of third party encompassing the mass of Negro people, the farmers, and with labor playing the leading role--is a necessary stage in the development of the class and socialist consciousness of our working class and in the struggle of socialism."

"Labor, the Negro people, farmers must be won for such a third party. They must be broken away from the two-party system they give their main support and confidence at the present time."

"The only 'socialism,' the only socialist parties in this world which have been successful, and still are, are those which are based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party is the only socialist party in the United States which is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. It will, based on its policy, select areas where Communist candidates will be placed in the field, and it will campaign for socialism through such candidates....

"OUR 1960 ELECTORAL policy may, therefore, be said to have these three objectives:

- "1. Help determine the outcome of the elections in a progressive direction, the strengthening of the fight for peaceful co-existence, Negro and labor's rights, and security.
- "2. Raise independent political action of labor, the Negro and Puerto Rican people to a higher level, moving in the direction of a third party.
- "3. Spread the message of socialism through Communist Party candidates, and build and strengthen the Communist Party."

"... Let us unite to bring all our supporters into active participation in the mass electoral struggles, as well as to seek out the specific areas where united independent third peoples' candidacies will advance the struggle for a higher level of political independence, for a farmer-labor party."

The Worker,
October 11, 1959, pp. 6, 11.

8. Socialized Medicine

"There seems to be a lot of dissatisfaction with the medical profession...

"... The real trouble is commercialism. Most doctors are loyal, able, hard-working people. Yet the money taint has definitely entered the profession and largely made a joke of the famous oath of Hippocrates. How could it be otherwise?

"The only cure is socialized medicine. The leaders of American medicine fight it like the devil....

"Socialized medicine means the nation's health--all the nation, not a few favored sections. Despite such pseudo-collectives as Blue Cross and the Kaiser plan, plus the fringe medical benefits won by the big unions most Americans are medically unprotected."

The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 8.

9. Anticommunist Propaganda

"During the past decade, anti-Communist prejudices have been systematically spread by all of the propaganda centers owned by Big Business in our country (the press, radio, etc.). This propaganda deluge, further implemented with Gestapo-like harrassment by the FBI, is designed to confuse the real issues facing the people of our country, create fear, suspicion and division, and thereby blunt the effectiveness of united struggle by all sections of the American people concerned with democracy, higher living standards, and peaceful relations with all countries. Despite the setbacks registered by the American people against McCarthyism, red-baiting has been developed to a poisonous national institution, reinforcing that of racism. The Eastlands and Faubuses and their like have been quick to seize the weapon of redbaiting in their war against the Constitution and the rights of the Negro people. The basic fact that must be faced is that any acceptance of the Big Lie that there is a 'Communist conspiracy' in our country, by its very nature and logic, gives birth to another Big Lie (used very often and

very effectively in the South)--the charge that Negro organizations engaged in struggle for freedom, white liberal supporters of that freedom effort, and the Supreme Court's desegregation decision are all part of the so-called 'Communist conspiracy.' Basic progress of the working class, the Negro people, and the nation as a whole heavily depends upon the rejection of this whole fabric of lies, which has as its class source Big Business and its Dixiecrat servants."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States," Political Affairs, September, 1959, p. 57.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The Party must cooperate with all "progressive forces" to overcome the disunity in the ranks of labor.
2. The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 is the "political reflection of an all-out anti-union drive."
3. Union leadership has failed the labor movement by not attacking the "enemies of labor" more vigorously.
4. There is no cure for unemployment in a capitalist economy.
5. Union members must be fully aroused to the meaning of the steel strike and the subsequent 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction.
6. The "big-business offensive" against the labor movement must be opposed by all working people.
7. The AFL-CIO convention was disappointing because it was "only a rehash of old policies and a reaffirmation of the same bureaucracy."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Labor Unity

"...The Party must understand clearly that in the trade unions its basic line is active cooperation with the progressive forces. This includes all the trade unionists who support progressive policies, and in the fundamental way to put the unions as a whole fully into motion."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, p. 50.

"...The struggle of labor will grow in effectiveness as it becomes linked with that of the Negro people, as well as that of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American people, and especially to the degree that labor fights aggressively for Negro rights.

"It is the responsibility of our Party to link up all these struggles and to show their relationship to the fight for peace. We must work to overcome the disunity in the ranks of labor and the people which has permitted the reactionary offensive of big business to make such headway."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 5.

"...Communists, Socialists, progressives, all workers and all friends of labor--let us resolve to work together. We are friends. Let us now go out to meet the enemy, the all too often 'forgotten enemy,' monopoly."

By a Steelworker, "American Labor Today," Political Affairs, December, 1959, p. 62.

2. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"THE TRADE UNION movement is slowly but surely awakening to the realization that a government czar, a member of the cabinet armed with unlimited police powers under the Griffin-Landrum-Kennedy Law, is establishing government authority over organized labor. He is James Mitchell, secretary of labor. Mitchell has been acting with extraordinary speed to put the government control provisions of the new law into effect...."

"WHILE UNION lawyers are still analyzing the new law, the union-busters are proclaiming it was 'only a beginning.' Rep. Phil M. Landrum of Georgia, co-author of the new law, was one of the star speakers before last week's annual congress of the National Association of Manufacturers. His speech was titled 'Where do we go from here?'

"Landrum didn't mince words as the 2,000 corporation executive applauded. He noted that the new law does not deal with 'the great sums of

money expended by labor organizations in political campaigns.' Nor is there in it a provision to break strikes like the steel strike after an 80-day injunction runs out. He said that some 'anti-monopoly restrictions' against unions are needed."

"The new anti-labor law, said Landrum, 'is a long step forward, but it is only the beginning, the foundation, for real reform in this segment of our economic structure.'

"The forces of reaction are beating the drums for another anti-labor lynch party when Congress opens...."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, pp. 6, 11.

"...immediately after the President directed Mitchell to explore the possibility of organizing the conference proposed by Meany, the labor secretary asked the Justice Department to investigate the Teamsters union and the independent electrical, West Coast longshoremen's, communications unions, and the striking Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union, on their possible violation of the new Landrum-Griffin law barring union office to anyone convicted of a crime or who has been a Communist within the past five years. The latter four unions challenge the constitutionality of the provision.

"The move clearly indicated that the secretary of labor now vested with sweeping police powers over the labor movement, will use this authority to black-jack union officials into line for the kind of 'voluntary' strike restraints the Administration wants."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

"CONGRESS..

"...passed a vicious bill against the unions of the U. S. A. called by the high sounding and completely untrue title, 'Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.'"

"The bill purports to be aimed at 'corruption' in unions. Its provisions sound like the anti-labor decrees of Hitler and Mussolini."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 9.

"The toughest anti-labor bill since Taft-Hartley was enacted by Congress on the eve of Labor Day..."

"Enactment of the bill turned Labor Day into 'blue Monday' for the trade union movement...."

"The new law, given the innocent name 'Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959' is, like Taft-Hartley, a document of many pages and scores of provisions that should be a boon for the legal profession. Its full text was made available to the general public only after Labor Day...The more it is studied, the more of the anti-labor spikes reveal themselves...."

The Worker,
September 13, 1959, p. 1.

"THE LABOR haters, just as they seized on the anti-Communism issue to divide the labor movement in the forties and set the precedent of legislation to meet the 'red evil' (Taft-Hartley), now seized on the racketeer issue to inspire another chain of expulsions and pass even more drastic legislation giving the government virtually a stranglehold over unions. Corruption is only the excuse. The real objective...is government control over unions.

"The Kennedy-Ervin bill and its equivalent in the House, is only the political reflection of an all-out anti-union drive that has been picking up steam for several years...."

The Worker,
August 16, 1959, p. 6.

3. Failure of Union Leadership

"... Meany and his close associates are so firmly fixed along the coldwar track that they either don't realize, or don't care to see the realities.

"The plain fact is that the extreme cold war position of labor's topmost vocal leaders and their opposition to a summit conference, is so well known in the country, that the effect can be disastrous to the unions.

"The Meany position repels popular support for labor when labor needs it most. It goes without saying that the propaganda picturing union leaders as corrupt has already had some harmful effect among people generally. Labor can ill afford to be known as an extreme warmongering force in the country."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"The gall of big business of already drumming up now a movement for the next anti-labor blow in Congress points up labor's defensive position today. The enemies of labor are following the time-honored successful tactic of pressing new attacks while labor is still reeling from the previous blow. The most valuable allies for big business are those who in 'liberal' garb open the gates for the attackers, as Kennedy did on 'labor reform' and is preparing now to do on strikebreaking. The tragedy is in the endorsement these 'liberals' get from the Meanys and Reuthers each time they trot forward to open the gates. And it was most shameful to see how at the recent AFL-CIO and United Automobile Workers conventions these liberals were covered up and still hailed as 'friends' of labor, in spite of their performance."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 6.

"IT IS HIGH TIME labor stopped accommodating itself to every anti-labor measure added on the books. The use of these anti-labor weapons should not only be met with mass protests, but those who wield the club should discover it is a weapon politically and economically expensive...."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 2.

"'A time for anger' was the appropriate title of a speech some months ago by Albert Whitehouse, director of the Industrial Unions Department of the AFL-CIO...."

"It is most certainly 'time for anger' but in the first place inside labor's own ranks, against those who are paralyzing the labor movement, stifling its militancy and keeping it in lethargy while its enemies are mounting a drive to 'tame' and kill the unions. Until such anger truly mounts (as it did at an AFL convention in Atlantic City in 1935) there is little early outlook for a labor movement effective enough to meet the challenge it faces from its class enemies."

The Worker,
September 6, 1959, p. 11.

"THE ONLY GOOD 'labor reform' bill is one that has been buried forever. Anybody who believes different is kidding himself or the working people. And that goes, too, for George Meany, Walter Reuther and all other union leaders who claim they can save the labor movement a worse fate by backing a so-called harmless 'labor reform' bill."

"The 'labor reform' bill is the legitimate flank of Wall Street's offensive against the unions...."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 9, 1959, p. 2.

4. Unemployment

"... coal employment is now running below 200,000 in place of more than twice that number 10 years ago. We have been hearing of the 'chronically depressed' mining areas for a full generation...."

"Capitalism simply has no solution for such a situation. The classical capitalist theory is that new employment, death, the human scrap-heap or eventual revitalization of the industry by new uses, 'balances' the job deficit.

"But in this day of a general automation spree and the decline of jobs in most fields and recessions every three or four years, there isn't the slightest basis for these old theories."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 6.

"IT WILL TAKE 2 1/2 million new jobs a year in America to keep up with those whose jobs automation is doing away with, plus one million more jobs for those graduating out of schools each year."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 13.

"The cold war has not ended unemployment. There were three recessions in ten years, and last year's was the worst. Hundreds of thousands are permanently out of their industries on account of automation, runamap shops, and depressed civilian activity, Autos, textile, and coal mining are examples. Scores of major labor market area remain depressed in the midst of the corporate boom. One-eighth of the Negro workers remain unemployed, and their real family incomes have fallen, on the average, in the past seven years."

The Worker,
August 2, 1959, p. 8.

"There is no real cure for unemployment in a capitalist economy. Not only is the economic cycle, with its booms and busts, inherent in such an economy, but so, too, is the historical tendency toward the growth of an industrial reserve army of unemployed workers. This tendency arises from the fact that capitalists are driven to utilize 'labor-saving' machinery as a means of cutting their wage bills--of getting rid of 'superfluous' workers...."

"Only in the socialist countries has the curse of unemployment vanished. The fact that in the Soviet Union unemployment is totally unknown stands in sharp contrast to the situation in this country. There, where the limiting factor in production is not private profit but the needs of the people, there is always a shortage of labor. There, automation does not give rise to 'technological unemployment,' but is universally welcomed as a means of freeing workers for other tasks, of increasing leisure time for all, and of creating the abundance which makes possible the achievement of a communist form of society."

Hyman Lumer, "The 'Superfluous' Millions," Mainstream, July, 1959, pp. 44-45.

5. Steel Strike

"THE STEELWORKERS are going back BY FORCE--BY EDICT. As they return, the country can see what the labor movement meant when it called the Taft-Hartley Law a slave labor law. This law orders people to work against their will.

"Every person of progressive sentiment will applaud the 500,000 steel workers for their gallant fight of 117 days."

"...these workers are ready to resume the strike after 80 days unless they get a contract retaining the basic union conditions they won through the years. They will not be starved into submission!

"The labor movement of 18 million workers must not be idle during the 80-day 'warmup' period. A strike fund of many millions should be piled up in the weeks ahead. Every local union should be fully aroused to the meaning of this struggle. Every influence should be brought to play in support of the steel workers."

Editorial, The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 2.

"AN INJUNCTION in labor disputes, since its first application, has always been regarded simply as a strikebreaking club. By its use the government has, in effect, said to the worker: 'Take what the boss offers or the club will come down on your head.' Such, in plain language, is the meaning of the Taft-Hartley injunction the Eisenhower government has invoked against the 500,000 steel workers."

"The enemies of labor count on the 80 days to replenish steel supplies for an even longer period, because they are determined to get what they want and they know the steel workers, equally determined, will resume the walkout the first week in January.

"The steel workers are carrying the ball in a struggle that will have far-reaching effect on conditions for labor generally. The labor movement, too, should do some stockpiling in the period ahead -- stockpiling of millions of dollars to back the steel workers.

"Those dollars should be accompanied by an aroused spirit in the trade unions for public support of the steel workers. The unions should build grass-roots pressure on members of Congress against the new legislation which reactionary forces want to rush through when the legislative session opens in January. New bills are now being prepared to break up unions as trusts or impose compulsory arbitration upon them."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 25, 1959, p. 2.

"The steel strikers are fighting the battle of all American workers against the weakening of their strength--their unions. They are fighting the mass layoffs threatened by automation and technological change. They are demanding a share in the results of the increased productivity of all American workers. They are fighting for an end to anti-Negro job discrimination.

"The steel strikers need and deserve the help of the entire labor movement in the struggle against the monopolists who are acting for all Wall Street in this union-busting move. Every American worker's future is involved in the securing of a victory by the steel union."

"...it's up to every unionists, from top to bottom, to demonstrate, in every way, his backing for the strike."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 16, 1959, p. 2.

"HALF A MILLION steel workers are on the streets without jobs, virtually forced out of the shops by the bosses in an effort to starve the workers into submission. Already this great strike is having its effects in the widespread closing of industry and the throwing of additional thousands of workers out of employment."

"This strike is much more than merely a strike of the worker in the steel mills, important though that is. Every worker in the United States has a direct stake in it. If this strike should be lost, it would mean food off the table of every worker in this country."

"This means that every union must give all the necessary support so that this strike is won. This broad strike in steel is the affair and interest of every union in the country...."

The Worker,
July 26, 1959, p. 3.

6. Big Business versus Unions

"...the labor movement is confronted with a determined and well-organized big-business offensive. If the monopolists of this country win this war, American labor and all American people, especially the Negro people, will suffer a serious setback.

"Labor and its allies, however, have the power to defeat this assault of capital, if only this power is mobilized effectively.

"The Communist Party identifies itself with the denunciation by the leaders of American labor of the strike-breaking actions of the Government and the courts. Together with all working people, we greet the call for greater unity and the decisions for building up a big fund to help the struggles of the steel workers, the railroad workers and all other targets of the big-business offensive."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

"MAKE NO MISTAKE--the unions that bosses most prefer are NO unions. Time and time again they have tried to smash them. The history of the labor movement makes this clear...."

"GREAT HARM has been done by the Taft-Hartley Act. Company unions have reappeared. A number of union leaders have been framed with perjury charges, under the non-Communist section...."

"But Big Business isn't satisfied. The steel strike shows their hand. They want no more 'interference' in the shops from unions. They are increasing production, through automation, cutting the labor force to the bone, while profits zoom sky high...."

The Worker,
September 6, 1959, p. 9.

"...the steel barons have deliberately and cold-bloodedly forced the strike upon the workers. This action is part of a general plan to turn the clock back at least a generation for the working people and the whole country. It is intended to destroy everything the steel workers and all other American workers have won in the course of many years of bitter struggles and sacrifices. It is part of a nation-wide plot by big business to weaken, undermine and if possible destroy the unions in our country."

"All unions must therefore recognize and act upon the fact that the steel workers and their union are only the first target, and that all the other economic royalists wait like vultures for their own victims.

"To stop and defeat this first attack of big business must become the battle cry of the entire labor movement. This is the way to defeat the entire offensive, the whole conspiracy of the power-mad monopolists."

The Worker,
July 26, 1959, p. 14.

7. AFL-CIO Convention

"The AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco met in face of conditions that amounted to a crisis for the labor movement. That crisis was in the making for some time, and many delegates gave clear evidence of their concern."

"The 13,500,000 members of the AFL-CIO unions expected something fresh--an effective program to meet the serious situation. The delegates brought home only a rehash of old policies and a reaffirmation of the same bureaucracy that has been leading the AFL-CIO along a disastrous course. Many in the convention entertained hopes that some of the younger leaders, of the industrial union, mainly of the former CIO, would resist the trend to make the AFL-CIO the image of the old AFL. But the performance of these people was disappointing...."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 11, 1959, p. 2.

"... The convention of the AFL-CIO began with an attempt by George Meany, which failed miserably, to turn it into an anti-Khrushchev and sabre-rattling spree. It ended in a brawl, over the issue of Negro rights that A. Philip Randolph pressed courageously, and an exposure for all the world to see that the professed leadership for 'free' trade unionism by the AFL-CIO top leaders is a brazen fake."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 5.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. Despite the fact that farm production continues upward, farmers' income in 1959 will be the lowest since World War II.
2. The margin between costs and returns has been reduced to the vanishing point for millions of small farmers.
3. The Party must support the organizing drive among agricultural workers.
4. Migrant farm workers are denied almost all the social protection won by American labor.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Farmers' Outlook

"While the income of the U. S. farm population is forever shrinking -- in 1958 the per capita farm income was \$1,068 including income from non-farm sources while the per capita income for the rest of the nation was \$2,034 -- the income of farmers in the USSR is constantly rising and will have increased 40 percent by the end of the Seven Year Plan."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 7.

"The extra money the American people paid in September for food, as the cost of living rose to the highest level in U. S. history for the month, went to the top food processing and merchandising monopolies."

"The farmers of the nation, however, took a terrible beating in the prices they received from the food processers, grocery chains and

middle men during the third quarter. Farmers' income for that quarter was \$9 1/2 billions, or 28 percent less than in the same quarter in 1958.

"Indications are that farmers' income this year will be the lowest since World War II, while over-all production has jumped 30 percent in the period."

The Worker,
November 8, 1959, p. 3.

2. Small Farmers Caught in Cost-Price Squeeze

"For millions of small farmers, long caught in a cost-price squeeze, rising monopoly prices and cold-war inflation have reduced the margin between costs and returns to the vanishing point. Tens of thousands of small owners, croppers and tenants have been swept off the land. In the rural South and elsewhere, acute privation and suffering is the lot of millions of Americans."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September,
1959, pp. 30-31.

3. Organization of Agricultural Workers

"...the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a 'class' organization in behalf of common economic and political demands. Organizations of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent task before the labor movement as well as the Negro people's movement...."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro
Question in the United States,"
Political Affairs, September,
1959, p. 50.

"The organization of the agricultural workers remains the major unsolved task confronting the labor movement... The farm workers are at the bottom of the economic scale insofar as wages, housing and other living conditions are concerned...."

"It is imperative that not only our members directly involved in farm workers' activity, but also those in industrial unions and other mass organizations take part in campaigns on issues affecting farm workers. The Party and all Left and progressive workers, should help to rally the trade-union movement to support the organizing drive among agricultural workers...."

Robert Wells, "The Agricultural Workers in California," Political Affairs, August, 1959, pp. 2, 11.

4. Plight of Migrant Farm Workers

"Spokesmen for the processing and packing monopolies and the big growers' lobby tried last Monday to justify their semi-slave exploitation of migrant farm workers."

"Once again the misery and hunger imposed on the migrant workers were officially documented as they have been in numerous Congressional and state legislative investigations."

"These are the untouchables of the U. S.--the homeless living in chicken coops, barns and tents; children growing up in illiteracy; flagrant violation of child labor laws; hunger wages and often payless weeks; defrauded and often terrorized, and even denied almost all the social protection won by American labor."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, pp. 14, 16.

V. COLONIALISM

1. The increasing "anti-imperialist struggle" throughout Latin America has forced a change in the tactics of the United States.
2. The poverty-stricken people of Asia still suffer, as their nations are tied to United States "imperialism" by their "dictators."
3. "Powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests" oppose the new Cuban government.
4. United States "imperialism" is responsible for exploitation in Haiti.
5. Puerto Rico, in spite of its "vaunted" commonwealth status, continues to be a "colony of Yankee imperialism."
6. The workers of the world must support the struggle for independence in the Belgian Congo.
7. The United States, which disclaims "all except 'humanitarian' interest" in Red China, reveals its true hostility in its actions concerning Taiwan and Tibet.
8. The United States State Department has interfered in the internal affairs of Laos.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Imperialism in Latin America

"Fidel Castro and the Cuban people have dared to defy American imperialism by refusing to compromise with Wall Street and Washington and going all out for far overdue basic changes and agrarian reform. This has brought new hope and confidence to the anti-imperialist struggle in all the countries of Latin American."

The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

"...The epic rise of the peoples in the enslaved nations is a major obstacle to the plans of big business. Like everything else, the cost of extracting superprofits from the undeveloped lands is going sharply up. . . . Cuba of today will not accept the treatment accorded a poor country cousin, and the Cubas of today all over the world not only demand but are in a position to get equal treatment in trade, diplomacy and respect on a par with all other nations. The heyday for imperialism is behind us. . . ."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 5-6.

"American imperialism has changed its tactics but not its aims and goal--the continued ruthless domination of Cuba, Puerto Rico and all other Latin and Central American countries. . . ."

The Worker,
July 26, 1959, p. 2.

"...The OAS* includes the 21 Latin American states and the U.S. It was designed, originally to corral the countries South of the Rio Grande into stooges of our State Department and corporations like United Fruit and Electric Bond & Share.

"The State Department finds it harder to manipulate the Latin American governments today than in the past, when all would vote as one in the UN for example."

"U. S. policy will seek to move dexterously, avoiding open violation of the sovereign will of the Latin nations, but will try to swing them into line behind the State Department."

The Worker,
August 16, 1959, p. 3.

*Organization of American States

2. Asia

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER flew last week from poverty-stricken country to country in Asia, hobnobbed with the dictators of Turkey and Pakistan, and the premier of India, and prepared for the final legs of his voyage in Africa and Europe for the professed objective of finding 'methods by which peace in the world can be assured with justice for everybody.' "

"All through Asia, wherever Eisenhower went, he was confronted with poverty-stricken people whose plight is a heritage of British colonialism, and who are still suffering as their nations are tied to U. S. imperialism by their dictators."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, pp. 3, 14.

3. Cuba

"Cuba--the country where the revolution against imperialism in Latin America has reached the highest point in history--is in great and immediate danger.

"This poses an immediate responsibility of utmost historic gravity before the American people, and its most decisive sectors, Labor, the Negro 18 million, all honest democrats and progressive who want to see a nation achieve sovereignty, independence, economic and political advance. The issue is one that must be at the very top of the agenda for Communists in the United States.

"Not only is revolutionary Cuba threatened by military invasion, it is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the remarkable advances being made by the new government."

"...The workers of Cuba harbor no illusions as to who is their real enemy. When they cry 'Down with Yankee imperialism,' they are resisting the same monopolists who are the bitterest exploiters of American labor."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 4.

"Premier Castro, in his Havana speech before a million of his countrymen this past week, urged citizens of the United States to protest against the terroristic onslaughts against his people made from U. S. soil."

"All Americans--who believe in justice and the rights of nations to govern themselves--must also speak out, now, in meetings, in resolutions, in wires and petitions, to our State Department and to our President, urging that the culprits on our soil be extradited to stand trial as war criminals in Cuba."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 3.

"Trading on ignorance about Communism and consequent long-standing prejudices, the State Department has inspired many reports that the new Cuba is under increasingly Communist 'domination'. Congressmen and press editorials have, for months, been depicting Premier Castro's brother, Raul, as either 'Communist or pro-Communist, trained behind the Iron Curtain,' and similarly with Comandante Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, as well as many other heroes of the revolution.

"That is the first step--a la Guatemala. Picture the revolutionary government as 'Communist.' "

The Worker,
July 12, 1959, p. 14.

4. Haiti

"ALL GOVERNMENT and public buildings in Haiti's capital, Port-Au-Prince, are in a virtual state of siege. The Army and the Navy are on ready duty. Mass arrests by the Duvalier dictatorship mark the capital and the chief cities."

"HOY, THE NEWSPAPER published by Cuba's Popular Socialist Party, emphasizes that the Duvalier dictatorship is aimed at maintaining an economic exploitation..."

"The main gainer from this exploitation is U.S., imperialism, while the Haitian landlord and mercantile interests and the governing clique are given shares in the rakeoff."

The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 6.

5. Puerto Rico

"THE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities, of the U. S., Congress, with Rep. Francis Walter as Chairman, is summoning various Puerto Rican persons to appear before the meetings beginning Nov. 18..."

"This Committee arrives in Puerto Rico without anyone asking it to come. It has no moral authority to proceed with investigations here. Its action is a clear lack of confidence, politically, in Gov. Munoz Marin. Before Latin America and the rest of the world, it is one more example that Puerto Rico continues to be a colony of Yankee imperialism, in spite of the much vaunted free Commonwealth form of government.

"It is well known all over the world that for imperialism and capitalist dictatorships, all persons or groups that in any form identify themselves with the aspirations of the working class are singled out as Communist."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 10.

"BY THE INQUISITORIAL invasion of Puerto Rico, U. S. reactionary and imperialist forces acting through the so called Un-American Committee are adding a new venture to their already disgraceful record against freedom and democracy in this country. This Committee is invading the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico without a mandate or even an ordinary invitation from that country."

"...The Puerto Ricans...are being forcibly invaded again by this witchhunt Committee to question and harass 200 workers, intellectuals and freedom loving Puerto Ricans patriots to see if they can do by fear, intimidation and jailings what American imperialism has been unable to do by starvation, military, naval and atomic occupation, and sweatshop industrialization."

The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

6. Belgian Congo

"...the rifles and machine guns of Leopoldville are brutally reminding the world that the 'Belgian' Congo which many people believed would sleep through the centuries, is preparing to become simply, the 'Congo.'

"According to information still incomplete at least 200 Congolese were killed early in 1959 for their heroic opposition to colonialism. Other hundreds have been wounded; still more are in jails. But the fire smoulders deep now. It is not a question of an 'incident,' but of a phase in the struggle for independence waged for several years now by the Congo people who have been encouraged by the successes won by their brother peoples of Africa."

"...The solidarity of the workers of Belgium and the world should not fail to be forthcoming for the workers and people of the Congo."

Roger Clain, "The Congo Freedom-Struggle," Political Affairs, August, 1959, pp. 56, 58.

7. Communist China

"PEKING--These are times when the official spokesmen of the U.S. are expressing horror at the passing of the 'Tibetan way of life' which meant serfdom for the vast majority of Tibetans. Doing so, they disclaim all except 'humanitarian' interest in this region of China, in which the hard core of secessionist defenders of the world's darkest serfdom have brought destruction on themselves by taking up arms against progress."

"There was never any question of Tibetan independence; but there were many attempts by imperialism to dismember China, here as elsewhere, by inventing such an issue and enlisting local traitors and reactionaries to push it.

"So the Japanese, using the politically - dead Manchu ex-emperor of China, created 'independent Manchukuo' in 1931.

"So the rulers of the United States are pushing an 'independent Taiwan' and fostering the shouting over Tibet today, showing only their insensate hostility to new China and their vain dreams of dismembering and destroying her, which they have not a whit abandoned."

The Worker,
December 6, 1959, p. 10.

8. Laos

"The lies about North Vietnam aggression in Laos collapsed last week when a UN commission returned from an on-the-spot inquiry and admitted 'no proof.'"

"No sooner did the commission report, when arm-twisting Western powers headed by the U. S. State Department applied pressure on Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold to go to Laos and set up a 'UN presence.' This would be less than ghostly.

"It would mean that a personal representative of the UN chief would illegally supplant a body set up in 1954 by the Geneva agreements which settled the fighting in French Indo-China...."

"According to the 1954 agreements at Geneva, Laos, recognized as an independent state, was bound to neutrality.

"The Pathet Lao independence forces were to be integrated into the Laotian army on an equal basis.

"All this was subverted by the policies of John Foster Dulles, and in May, 1958, via military threats, bribery and blackmail, the State Dept. installed its puppet Sananikone as premier."

"Then the troubles began mounting, during which Sananikone allowed the building of new U. S. military bases, airfields and strategic roads, accepted thousands of tons of U. S. military equipment, the services of hundreds of U. S. military advisers, betrayed the agreements signed with the Pathet Lao forces, and began prosecutions and arrests of its leaders thus rekindling civil war."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 15.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Party continues to condemn the "reactionary" House Committee on Un-American Activities.
2. Using "red-baiting" tactics, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee acts as the "stooge" of American "imperialists."
3. Big business pursues its "anti-labor" program by planning even more drastic legislation.
4. Amnesty demands for the remaining imprisoned communist leaders need widespread support.
5. The Smith Act indictment against William Z. Foster, the Party's chairman emeritus, should be dismissed.
6. It is evident that a "coalition of reactionary Republicans and white-supremacist Southern Democrats" controlled the last Congress.
7. The "labor reform" laws contain new rules and penalties which will make Government control over unions decisive in the trade-union movement.
8. There is need for revision of United States policy on the issuance of passports, as well as immigration and naturalization procedures.
9. The Supreme Court has retreated in its defense of civil rights while approving the programs of "anti-labor" forces.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...The Un-Americans are unconstitutionally organized in the Congressional Committee for UnAmerican Activities.

"This committee is itself the most vociferous expression of UnAmericanism in these United States. Its present role is to serve as a Congressional prop for reaction and against peace."

"... Why is not a committee formed to organize public sentiment, spread the facts about the dangerous character of this UnAmerican Committee and start preparing our people for the help that has to be given if those who refuse to talk are cited for contempt..."

The Worker,
December 6, 1959, p. 10.

"The national executive committee of the Communist Party last week 'unqualifiedly' condemned... the House Un-American Activities Committee..."

"... Communists together with all other Americans cannot remain passive while reactionary committees of a branch of the American government seek to do a grave injury to our national honor, morality, and prestige."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 16.

"IT IS CLEAR to all who have followed the antics of the Committee on Un-American Activities, so-called, that it has served to protect and mask the real Un-American activities of groups like the Klux Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. This Committee has not cared to investigate the activities of these proven Un-American groups, while it keeps constantly investigating and persecuting groups and individuals who have dedicated years of their lives in the defense of all that is free, true and in the best traditions of democracy in the United States."

The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 10.

2. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

"THE EASTLAND committee is striving to turn the clock back to the worst McCarthyite days by harassing men like Eugene Dennis, Communist leader, who crusade for national policies that will, once and for all, end the awful menace of nuclear war. The Senate Committee brought Dennis before it last week again in an effort begun several weeks ago in Philadelphia....

"...this same committee summons a man like Joseph North, our foreign affairs editor, whose writings call for improvement of relations with the new Cuba.

"North was questioned by the committee on his writings in its effort to use the old and discredited tactic of red-baiting, of anti-Communism, against the Cuban Revolution and its popular advances."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 2.

"...Diaz Lanz came to the U. S., the refuge of the ex-dictators, to become the darling of Senator Eastland in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and give 'secret reports' in the hope of helping the American imperialist interests against Cuba...."

"THE U. S. SENATE Internal Security subcommittee, in giving a world platform to a deserter and traitor like Diaz Lanz, has proven something that we have known for a long time--that such subcommittees and committees in Washington are the stooges of the American imperialist interests for whatever 'job' is to be done anywhere in the world in the name of 'saving the world from communism.' "

The Worker,
August 9, 1959, p. 10.

3. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"Terming the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law only a 'good beginning,' speakers, including a cabinet member, before 2,000 business executives at the NAM's* Annual Congress of American Industry, beat drums wildly for enactment of even more drastic anti-labor legislation."

"The 'NAM line' adds up to a neat program: No letup in the drive against labor; less confidence in political tools and a more direct part in politics (Rockefeller style) by businessmen themselves; a drive for sacrifices to 'meet the Khrushchev challenge' through more automation, no such 'luxuries' as the shorter work week, and 'featherbedding' must go."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 1.

"...already the drums are beating for new drastic anti-labor legislation. The next target of the big business lobbyists now laying plans for an assault on the session of Congress opening in January, is the strike weapon. They are not yet united on their ideas, but they are as one voice for a common purpose--to turn labor's main weapon into a wooden sword."

"...a Congress that turned Kennedy's 'moderate' bill on 'labor reform' into a Kennedy-Griffin-Landrum 'Killer' Law, is not likely be satisfied with 'moderate' strikebreaking, once the door is open for provision of an 'arsenal.' "

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 6.

"Aware of the determination of the undefeated steel workers to resume their strike after the expiration of 80 days, President Eisenhower,

*National Association of Manufacturers

Labor Secretary Mitchell and other government leaders are now threatening to enact new anti-labor and anti-strike laws, designed to force the steel workers to continue working after the expiration of the 80 days.

"There must be no illusions. Big business and the monopoly-controlled government will make every effort to enact such new laws as soon as Congress reconvenes. The recent enactment of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act has served to whet their appetites for still more shackling legislation with the aid of the unholy alliance of the Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans in Congress."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

4. Amnesty Appeals

"... President Eisenhower was presented with a petition in December 1957 in France, appealing for amnesty for Gil Green and Henry Winston. The petition stated that their imprisonment was 'for no other reason than that they held certain opinions and were leaders of the Communist Party in the United States.'* ... Two years have passed but these two men remain in prison.

"Twice they have been denied parole by a Federal Parole Board, which during the same period granted parole to 75% of imprisoned embezzlers, 31% of white slavers, 37% of kidnappers and 31% of narcotic violators. Appeals addressed to President Eisenhower for executive action on his part, have been sidetracked in the Department of Justice by the Pardon's attorney on the pretext that no new issues are raised. The real reason is discrimination against political prisoners.... Last Spring, Robert Thompson was returned to prison to serve eighteen months more, when the Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal. So today, there are three leading American Communists behind prison bars, under the infamous thought control Smith Act, now thoroughly discredited."

*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"...Winston, Green and Thompson are a test of American democracy before the world. The size and continuity of the amnesty campaign on their behalf is our challenge... Write your letter to President Eisenhower..."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Amnesty for Political Prisoners," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 10-11, 12.

"NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV said at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that there are no political prisoners in that vast socialist country. James Jackson, a fraternal visitor from the United States, in his speech of greeting there, called attention to the fact that there are political prisoners in the U.S.A. --Winston, Green, Thompson, Sobell and several others who are victims of the Taft-Hartley Law. Christmas is the traditional period for amnesty in this country. Let us take our pens in hand to remind President Eisenhower that there are political prisoners in the U.S.A. and he can free them."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 9.

"The continued imprisonment of the three remaining Smith Act prisoners, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson is a symbol of the denial of First Amendment freedoms. Limited as it has been, the effort to win their freedom has proved that Americans of divergent beliefs will defend these freedoms despite the fact that the prisoners are Communist leaders. Their case transforms the struggle for the right to dissent from one of abstract principle into the flesh and blood reality of suffering men, their wives and children."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 11.

5. William Z. Foster under House Arrest

"...Foster, who is 78 and is confined to bed by paralysis for the past two years, was neither able to get dismissal of the case nor to get permission to go to one of the several Socialist countries that have offered him better treatment and possibly some relief from his serious condition.

"...The government acts as though it plans to bring Foster to trial some day although its own physicians don't give one chance in a million that he could ever come to a trial. Thus Foster is held under what amounts to protective arrest."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 5.

"...The only person who stands today indicted but not tried under... the Smith Act, is William Z. Foster. He has been under bail all these years, with the heavy restrictions required, in the Southern District of New York....

"...These restrictions actually mean a form of house arrest."

"It is a shocking thing to people elsewhere and causes much indignation, that the government denied him the right to travel in search of health. That he would be allowed to die without an end to this continued persecution, is a disgrace to our country.

"Letters to the Attorney Gen'l in Washington should urge a dismissal of these indictments which cannot be tried and freedom for a man advanced in year and very ill to pass his last years as he is best able to do."

The Worker,
November 8, 1959, p. 9.

6. Coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats

"...on the rights of the Negro people, the Democratic 'advisers' presented a weasel-mouthed plan calling on Congress 'to re-evaluate and build upon past accomplishments.'

"The policy statement sought to put the blame on the Republican party for everything wrong in the country and claimed in only a negative way that the Democrats would do better.

"The Democratic advisers omitted an acknowledgement that it was a coalition of the Republicans and the Southern Democrats, with acquiescence by the Northern and Western 'liberal' Democrats in Congress, that established the rules under which the unholy alliance was able to bar civil rights legislation."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 14.

"When the Congress opened in January, the unions and the Negro people, in particular, had high hopes that this would be a liberal Congress. In November, independent political action, led by labor forces, had routed Wall Street's attempt to foist 'right-to-work' laws on the workers in five states, and had replaced 50 reactionary Republican members of the House with 'liberal' Democrats.

"CERTAINLY, THE PEOPLE had a right to expect the new Congress to follow the voters' mandate for worthwhile labor, social and civil rights legislation. But it soon became evident that a coalition of reactionary Republicans and white-supremacist Southern Democrats had taken over in Senate and House..."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 6.

"Last year the American people had the right to expect that Congress would adopt legislation that would guarantee the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South--and the North, and end the horror of the jimcrow system.

"But the American people were doublecrossed by the leadership of the Democratic party in Congress. Lyndon Johnson, Senate majority leader and ally of the white-supremacists, talked sweet words about compromise that would achieve the practical purpose of bringing effective civil rights legislation. Meanwhile he, the Southern Democrats and the Republicans united in an unholy alliance, with the acquiescence of the 'liberal' Democrats, to guarantee continuance of the 'filibuster' veto."

Editorial, The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 2.

7. Labor Reform Laws

"DENVER. --Little more than a week ago a second frontal assault was opened up against the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers. As the strike of the mine workers against the copper trusts went into its third month the officers of this beleaguered union began their defense in the Federal Courthouse here on the charge of 'conspiring' to violate the Taft-Hartley Law."

"John Clark, president of the Mine Mill union, characterized the trial as part of attack on organized labor. 'The charges and trial of these men in Denver are part of this attack and its effect will have its impact on all unions', he stated.

"Clark, who is not one of the defendants in the trial declared that 'if there is any vestige of "conspiracy" or any foundation in these charges, then conspiracy can be charged against any union or its leadership who meet to plan for the welfare of its members to offset the dangers incurred to their programs in the passage of the Taft-Hartley Acts, labor control acts, or what have you.' "

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 12.

"UNION ATTORNEYS are still studying that bookful of new rules, restriction and government controls known as the 'Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959,' or popularly as the Kennedy-Griffin-Landrum 'labor reform' law...."

"Some naive people are impressed by the many glittering things in the law and argue that no union that lives democratically need fear any of its provisions. They overlook, however, the basic element: that the new set of rules and penalties will make government controls over union decisive in the life of the trade union movement; that this control is by a capitalist government subservient to big business.

"THE ROLE of the government as overseer for trade union democracy presumes a diminishing responsibility for the union members themselves for vigilance and struggle for union democracy and rights. Reliance is on the government club."

The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 6.

8. Passports, Immigration, and Naturalization

"...just seven years ago, a new immigration and naturalization policy went into effect...the Walter-McCarran Law...."

"For the non-citizen, the Walter-McCarran Law is as the proverbial sword over one's head. Seven hundred grounds for deportation, yearly registration with the Justice Department, fingerprinting, and constant surveillance are but a few of the indignities accorded the non-citizen.

"For the naturalized citizen, the Walter-McCarran Law has created second class citizenship of the worst order. For despite the fact that the person voluntarily sought citizenship in his new homeland, he finds that it is not fast and binding but rather a loan which may be snatched away at the whim and fancy of an inconstant Attorney General."

"The contributions the foreign born and their sons and daughters have made to this nation are found in history books, current events, and the future will see them as well. Yet the 14 million foreign born who are Americans by CHOICE and not by accident of birth are today discriminated against with a vengeance."

"...During the holidays, the first months of Congress and right up until it adjourns in the summer is the time to demand enactment of a fair immigration and naturalization policy. That is the time to fight to assure revision of the Walter-McCarran Law in order that the second class status accorded 14 million of our fellow-Americans is rejected."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

"...Washington's...passport policy is only one of several instances in which the Federal Government has overstepped its authority, exercised powers never delegated to it and trespassed upon the residual rights reserved to the respective states and to the people. These changes in public policy have been made possible by a carefully planned united front from the right..."

"Today we live under a plutocratic oligarchy which violates the basic right to go and come by denying certain of its citizen-subjects egress and ingress. Passports are issued not as a right of United States citizens, but as a privilege extended by the oligarchy to those who agree, or go along with, its current foreign policy...."

Scott Nearing, "The Right To Go And Come," Mainstream, September, 1959, p. 53.

9. Retreat of Supreme Court

"THE SUPREME COURT'S order to 500,000 steel workers to return to work puts the high court's seal of approval on strikebreaking by government.

"This is the first time such sweeping federal court approval was given to government strikebreaking in peace time. From here on, the anti-labor forces will seek to build upon this foundation laid by the Eisenhower administration and the Supreme Court."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 2.

"The Supreme Court, by its refusal to hear an appeal of the Teamsters union, has left standing a lower court decision that enables a judge to put a union under receivership controls.

"Thus the decision may have far-reaching effect in strengthening the Landrum-Griffin Law provision that enables the Secretary of Labor to exercise police powers over unions and bring them to court for alleged infraction of the many new government rules issued for them."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

"...in the Supreme Court, in the face of mounting reactionary attacks, a majority has developed in support of a retreat from some of its previous positions defending the Bill of Rights."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959,
p. 33.

"...four judges, to their honor, still try to enforce the Constitution. But five judges are protecting the FOES of Civil Rights instead. And they are jailing its FRIENDS at the same time.

"This is no longer the Court that rebuked the McCarthyites in the mid 1956's. For the balance shifted against the Bill of Rights with Ike's latest appointee, Judge Potter Stewart. And the Court began striking heavy blows at American Freedom in its June decisions."

The Worker,
July 5, 1959, p. 7.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Approval by leading politicians of America's use of nuclear weapons must be opposed by the "forces of peace" in this country.
2. The huge armaments costs of the United States have increased the cost of living and denied essential needs and services to the people.
3. Peace lovers must convince the masses that disarmament can bring about the improvement of workers' living conditions.
4. The alliance between Wall Street and the Pentagon is responsible for the continued production of "useless materials of war."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"...the Democrats' advisers attacked the Republicans not because their 'massive retaliation' or 'brinkmanship' foreign policy was against the interest of the American people but because the armed forces did not have enough nuclear and other weapons and soldiers to back up such a war policy."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 14.

"Rockefeller, who has a 2,000-acre hideout in Venezuela and four other estates where he can hide, callously picked a TV forum of young people, who will be the biggest sufferers, to ask Eisenhower to renege on his pledge to halt nuclear weapons testing until the end of this year.

"Rockefeller is seeking to impose his pro-war line on the Republican party as part of his drive to be nominated for President. He is thus working the other side of the same street as Sen. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, a front-running candidate for the Democratic nomination.

"Kennedy early last August was reported as having declared in a speech at Milwaukee that the U.S. position in Europe is worth a nuclear war."

"THUS, LEADING contenders for the presidency in both major parties are on record as favoring atomic war."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 1.

"...the men of Wall Street, who are raking in billions of dollars from the manufacture of hydrogen bombs and other weapons, don't want anything to interfere with that. And the policy of the Eisenhower administration and the leaders of Congress, both Republican and Democratic, is that what's good for Wall Street is good for them.

"The American people, however, must not let these elements hold them back. The first thing that must be done is to ban further H-bomb tests, that are poisoning the atmosphere for our children and their children's children. Also the move to give West Germany and other NATO* countries nuclear weapons must be halted. Then the manufacture of all nuclear weapons must be ended."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 2, 1959, p. 2.

"A particularly devilish feature of the Cold War is the continued manufacture and testing of bombs and rockets. The United States is arming NATO and all its main allies with these murderous devices. These fiendish machines are being made to shoot one-fourth of the way around the world. A very bad aspect is the invariable accompaniment of the bomb and rocket

*North Atlantic Treaty Organization

blasts with malignant radioactive fall-out. The imperialist militarists have thus far successfully resisted the limitation or abolition of the bombs and rockets, as well as the abolition of testing. Above all, the forces of peace must find the way to put a stop or limitation to these murderous devices...."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 15.

2. Armaments Costs

"We are told that not only is the armaments industry necessary for the 'defense' of our nation, but it is an economic necessity. We are threatened by Wall Street with the specter of millions of jobless, thousands of small businessmen bankrupt, and thousands more professional people without clients or patients, if disarmament comes.

"But this is not true. Armaments production in our country is being paid for by the denial to the people of essential needs and services."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 10.

"...armaments production, of no value to the people, not only provided super-profits for the monopolists but it has directly increased the cost of living of every American, who has had to pay in direct taxes and hikes in prices on the necessities of life through hidden taxes which the monopolies have added to the prices."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 4.

"...The fabulous outlay of our government for military expenditures, and everything connected with the Cold War, has been such

as to impoverish the masses of people more and more. The government is squandering at present at least 50 billion dollars a year for war preparations; and its imperialist partners throughout the world, collectively, are getting rid of about the same amount. President Eisenhower has stated recently that the cost of war munitions has mounted so greatly that many airplanes now cost their weight in gold."

William Z. Foster, "The Cold War and the People's Welfare," Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 15.

3. Disarmament

"...disarmament can be achieved. In this, a key role can be played by the unions. Organized labor's leadership must be made to see that membership demands an end to the policy of backing the monopolists in keeping a war-production economy.

"The Negro people, who can benefit tremendously from the channeling of the billions of dollars now wasted in weapons making into social services, the small business men, the professional people, the farmers, who will benefit from the shift to peace production, by joining forces with the working people, can guarantee disarmament and peace by telling President Eisenhower and Congress that this is their will."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 11.

"...disarmament has evoked a wide discussion on its effects on the economy of our country. But the alternative to the armaments economy is not an automatic collapse of the economy, nor is it necessary that the workers be saddled with the effects of reconversion. The alternative, rather, is a peacetime economy that employs the billions now spent for war to expand housing, schools, hospitals, recreational centers, and other social needs, and to improve further the standard of living of the workers."

Betty Gannett, "The Khrushchev Visit,"
Political Affairs, November, 1959, p. 7.

"...Working people require a program of struggle against the monstrous program of armaments and war threats, a program for peaceful jobs to more than replace those now provided by military orders. Certainly East-West trade, low-cost housing, federally aided non-segregated school construction, etc., are less profitable to the monopolies than lush armament contracts. But by that very fact they provide twice as many jobs to workers per dollar spent. The task of peace lovers is to convince the masses of this; to convince people of the need to fight for a program of peaceful jobs as they fight for better wages, rather than accepting the natural tendency of modern imperialism to subordinate everything to arms economy."

Victor Perlo, " 'Monthly Review' on Booms and Busts," Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 23-24.

4. Wall Street-Pentagon Alliance

"The stake of Wall Street's big-money men in the continued production of the useless materials of war may be seen in a comparison of the amount the federal government spent in 1958 on 'national defense' and the total amount spent in the nation on all manufactured products: \$45 billions for 'national defense' and \$180 billions for all manufactured goods, one-fourth of the basic sector of our economy."

"One therefore cannot expect the monopolist enemies of disarmament to give up such a profitable section of their operations without a struggle. And in their manipulations to maintain and increase this business, the top brass of the Pentagon play a most important role...."

"It's natural for this alliance between the armaments monopolists and the admirals, generals and civilian chiefs of the Pentagon to grow. After

all, the top brass are the middlemen, the salesmen for armaments, whose soft, well-paid jobs depend on the volume they are able to saddle on the army, navy and our force."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 7.

"The only people who want the H-tests resumed--and who fought even a temporary ban--are the armaments manufacturers, Wall Street and the generals and admirals, whose main job is to kill people...."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 30, 1959, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Racism, a "deadly menace to democracy" in America, must be fought through the vigorous united action of labor and the Negro people.
2. Violence against Negroes continues unchecked under the "dual system of justice" in the South.
3. Discrimination against foreign-born workers must be combated by all Americans.
4. Only mass action can achieve the solution to the Negro question.
5. Racial prejudice is not being vigorously opposed by the trade-union leadership.
6. The Federal and state governments "flout" the constitutional rights of Negroes.
7. Peace and the solution to the question of racism are in most cases synonymous terms.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Racism in the United States

"OUR COUNTRY, our people, the citizens of the U.S. stand before the judgement of history. We must take responsibility for American racism with its denial to millions of black men and women of the most elementary rights of human beings if we do not step forward and call a halt. We must denounce the lie that ours is a 'free world'...."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 15.

"...racism has become a deadly menace to democracy in America."

"RACISM is completely irreconcilable with peace. It is not consistent with democracy for the people. It can be reconciled with the Kultur of Hitler's murderous fiends but not with any form of culture. Its roots lie in the remnants of slave barbarism so necessary to the super-exploitation of the Negro people, which brings billions to the banks and realtors of America. In consequence, racism is destructive of constitutional government."

"...RACISM in America has given birth to lynching and mob violence. It has facilitated the formation of the Ku Klux Klan and made the creation of such middle-class terrorist organizations as the White Citizens Councils imperative if the liberation struggles of Negro Americans and liberty loving white Americans were not to be successful. Can that way be found to secure for Negroes equality of opportunity in present day American life? Not without the most desperate unity front struggles of the American people."

"The report of the Civil Rights Commission must be studied. Its recommendations must be implemented. Vigorous action on the part of labor in conjunction with the Negro people will along secure this. The end result will not only be the defense of the rights of Negro citizens but defense as well of Constitutional government."

The Worker,
October 25, 1959, p. 10.

2. Dual System of Justice

"Three Negro youths in Tupelo, Miss., charged last week with stabbing three white men, face the death penalty...."

"The arrests were made in an atmosphere of high tension. Roadblocks were set up around the city by highway patrolmen. More than 100 armed white men joined policemen in combing Negro communities of the city."

"The Florida State Conference of NAACP* branches has called for action to end the 'dual system of justice' in the state. John Edward Paul and Willie City, two young Negroes were executed on Nov. 13, following their frame-up and conviction on charges of raping a white woman. Just a few months previously four white men, convicted of kidnap-rape of a young Negro co-ed at Tallahassee, Florida were given life sentences."

The Worker,
December 6, 1959, p. 3.

"MACK CHARLES PARKER, resident of the State of Mississippi, citizen of the U.S., was murdered April 25 in Poplarville, Miss., by a lynch mob...."

"In the Parker case, the position of Mississippi is consistent with the attitude of the Federal Government toward white supremacists and the cult of white superiority.

"There is a Parker case because the Federal Government defends the interests of those who find billions in profits in the exploitation of Negroes and that violation of their constitutional rights which guarantees the exploitation."

"Labor and the American people are faced by a challenge to constitutional government and procedure. We have no guarantees that Parker's murderers will be brought to justice. Only mass demand can assure that step...."

The Worker,
November 15, 1959, p. 14.

*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

"A LOOK at the South today will show clearly that 'gradualism' does not work. While the Southern states delay and fight integration, Mack Parker is lynched, a Florida Negro co-ed is raped and her assailants given 'mercy,' four young Negro men are held for rape with a Florida death sentence (used only for Negroes) held over their heads. Things are not getting 'gradually' better. They are getting rapidly worse."

The Worker,
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

3. Foreign-Born Workers

"...the distinction between native-born and foreign-born is artificial and arbitrary in a comparatively new country.

"It has been aggravated and exploited to keep workers divided. It has been used by employers to pit one group against others. It has been the basis for discrimination and segregation. It has created a fertile ground for reaction, fed McCarthyism, led to repressive legislation and has caused untold suffering and hardship to foreign-born workers."

"...To fight against all repressive legislation directed at the foreign born and to make possible their immediate inclusion as citizens, is the duty of all Americans who enjoy citizenship."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, pp. 9, 11.

4. Mass Action Needed To Solve Negro Question

"ATTORNEY GENERAL William P. Rogers deserves no credit for his sudden concern about the Mack Charles Parker lynching.

"The truth is that the Department of Justice is primarily guilty for the fact that nothing has been done to this date on the Parker lynching."

"On the record Rogers deserves no confidence. The Administration's ties to the Dixiecrats are much stronger than its concern for the rights of Negroes. The Administration will act only if it is compelled to.

"Now is the time to make public the secret FBI report on the Parker killing.

"Now is the time for labor and the Negro people to plan a common drive for a full program of civil rights legislation, including the means of enforcement, at the coming Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 2.

"...Our party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. is to secure with all speed their fullest realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other nationalities and individual citizens of the U.S. nation, including their inalienable right to genuinely representative government, with proportional representation in the areas of Negro majority population in the South." *

"The achievement of the above stated programmatic objectives can only be realized through intensive struggle of a mass action character spearheaded by the united, mass action of the Negro people themselves and joined in by the labor movement and all democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Dixiecrat forces in general."

"Draft Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959,
pp. 58-59.

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

5. Jim Crow in Unions

"We most certainly hope...that something is done to erase some of the long-established jimcrow on the docks.

"But let us not forget that the railroad brotherhoods, on affiliating with the AFL-CIO three years ago, also promised to wipe out their constitutional color bars and have not yet done so. Meany opposed Randolph's resolution giving them a six-month time limit or be expelled.

"Nor should we forget that many of the former AFL unions still have segregated locals, and that Meany opposed Randolph's resolution to make such jimcrowism illegal in labor. While maintaining hope, we should not lose sight of the wide gap between words and action in the practices of Meany and his associates."

Editorial, The Worker,
November 29, 1959, p. 2.

"George Meany's insulting outbursts at A. Philip Randolph during the San Francisco AFL-CIO convention were a disgraceful performance such as will not soon be lived down by the labor movement. Meany's performance was most damaging to trade unionism and the already shaky Negro-labor alliance. It is an affront to the Negro people as a whole and to every American who cherishes civil rights."

"The outrageous 'show' at San Francisco only gladdened the hearts of the Dixiecrats. Decent Americans, especially union members, will make their protests heard.

"The spotlight should be all the more strongly on the leadership of the AFL-CIO for REAL and EARLY implementation of the high-sounding civil rights resolutions with DEEDS -- an end to jimcrow locals, color bars and other discriminatory practices.

"And Americans should applaud the handful of Negro delegates who stood up to the powerful bureaucracy. They set an example for all who want progress in the unions but have not yet found the courage to stand up and fight!"

Editorial, The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 1.

6. Constitutional Rights of Negroes

"...these are critical days in the struggle for Civil Rights and Human Dignity in our country. The struggle is even more acute and dangerous in certain areas in the South where forces of law and order are arrayed against any person or organization which strive for First Class Citizenship and Equality for all."

"...It is clear that the Federal government under Democrat and Republican administrations has condoned these through passivity...."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 16.

"Gov. John Patterson of Alabama has declared that the Civil Rights Commission of the Federal Government will not be permitted to investigate violations of the voting rights of Negro Americans in Alabama."

"A Southern District Federal Court has held that: the Civil Rights Commission did not have the power to force registrars to produce records indicating the extent of the state's violation of the rights of Negroes."

"If Alabama can flout the Federal Constitution with impunity where the rights of Negro citizens are concerned why can it not do the same where labor and the rights and dignity of poor white are affected. The answer is, it does. Herein lies the mutuality of interests of these groups."

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 6.

"Racism in the United States has long been proved a policy of government, crassly expressed in the failure of the Executive branch of the federal government with its vast Department of Justice and FBI to protect the lives, property and constitutional rights of Negro citizens and in the brazen and cynical manner in which Congress has permitted anti-racist Civil Rights legislation to be sabotaged without seeking the impeachment of those who thus violated their oaths of office. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils are terrorists organizations unique in this country."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 12.

7. Peace and the Negro Question

"THE NEGRO PRESS, and Negro leadership generally, premitted a magnificent opportunity to make another contribution to the cause of peace, the freedom of mankind and human dignity, to escape them when they failed to insist that the State Department arrange a special meeting for them with Premier Nikita Khrushchev."

"Khrushchev would not have interfered in the internal affairs of the U.S. He was here at the invitation of President Eisenhower. Under excessive provocation he scrupulously avoided dealing with domestic issues.

"But the Negro question, as we call it, is no longer the concern of America alone. The Negro problem is being merged by history with the liberation struggles of the colonial and semicolonial peoples of Asia, Africa, India, and especially of the freedom struggles of the peoples of Latin and South America.

"PEACE and the solution of the question of racism are in most cases synonymous terms...."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 12.

IX. EDUCATION

1. The outlook for desegregation in the Southern states in the 1959-60 school year is "limited."
2. School segregation is causing American young people to grow up with prejudiced and distorted views.
3. The United States national budget for education must be increased if this Nation is to "catch up" with the Soviet Union.
4. School integration problems arise in many sections of the country.
5. In its hearings on the Marxist Faculty of Social Science in New York, the House Committee on Un-American Activities sought to "punish ideas."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Desegregation Outlook

"PROGRESS in combatting bias during the year was 'only meager,' the American Civil Liberties* stated last week in its 39th annual report."

"With undue optimism, the ACLU report termed the 'biggest and best news' on the antidiscrimination front the 'change in the tide of opinion and action' among Southerners towards school desegregation.

"It is true that a growing number of Southern whites are concluding it is better to keep the public school system with some integration than have no schools. But this is a far cry from seeing Alabama and Mississippi soon 'alone in futile defiance of the irresistible tide,' as the Malin report does.

*American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

"The hard fact is that not a single child in the five deep South states has been integrated in the public school system, since the 1954 Supreme Court decision."

The Worker,
December 27, 1959, p. 14.

"...the outlook for desegregation in 17 Border and Southern states in the 1959-60 school year is limited, advance in the five border states, pinpoint advance in the five states of the upper South and Texas, a pinpoint breakthrough in Florida, and strengthened defiance in five other deep South states.

"More than 46 percent of the 3,055,000 Negro students anticipated in the 17 states in the 1959-60 school year are in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana where no desegregation will take place."

The Worker,
September 13, 1959, p. 3.

2. Segregated Schools Inculcate Prejudices

"The fight against school segregation is the fight to save our public school system, which the labor movement helped bring into being. Segregated schools are bringing down the standards of education for all children. Working class communities, with large Negro and Puerto Rican populations suffer in particular."

"White children are being inculcated with prejudice from kindergarten on, as phony intelligence tests put the white child in one class, and his Negro and Puerto Rican playmate in another."

The Worker,
September 13, 1959, p. 16.

"...something is sick and rotten at the core of the educational system of the South. Unless schools are integrated--now--young white people will be further imbued with very deep, almost unconscious feelings of race superiority, feelings which are always difficult to change. And unless we in the North, the East, and the West, unless we Americans take a vital and constant interest in the fight for equal justice, equal schooling--equality--our young people will continue to grow up absorbing warped and distorted views."

The Worker,
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

3. National Budget for Education

"...one of the speakers at the 'Rally for peace and friendship' in Carnegie Hall, Sunday night, which was sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

"Dr. Corliss Lamont, author and lecturer, warned that the U.S. could not catch up with the Soviet Union in the field of education so long as we spend three percent of the national budget for education, while the Soviets spend ten to 15 percent. He urged the audience to 'go forward to win the battle for world peace.' "

The Worker,
November 22, 1959, p. 14.

4. School Integration Problems

"DETROIT. ---Negro mothers who were able to move out of some of this city's worst slums some years ago are rebelling against having to send their children back into rundown schools in the slum areas.

"Some 74 children were ordered shipped each day by bus from schools near their homes on Detroit's West Side to a Houghton school deep in the heart of the slums. . . Children who come from an interracial neighborhood are placed in special classrooms and are not put in with the white children who live in that area.

"A delegation of Negro mothers from the Parent Teachers Association went to this school and protested against this segregation, as well as against anti-Negro language of some of the older students."

The Worker,
November 8, 1959, p. 13.

"NEGRO PUPILS in Yancey County, North Carolina, are being forced by school officials there to make an 80-mile round trip to school on a dangerous spiraling mountain road. . ."

".. Yancey County officials ordered this trip daily for 28 Negro pupils rather than integrate them into a white school."

"Also, at Apex, N. C., near Raleigh, the school official there are forcing Negro pupils to travel 36 miles to and from to a Negro school, because they refuse to integrate them into a local white school."

The Worker,
October 18, 1959, p. 5.

"A vote for Amendment No. 4 is urged by the Communist Party of New York. This amendment would permit N. Y. City to borrow up to \$500,000,000 outside its present debt limit to build new schools and modernize old ones."

" 'Parents, teacher and labor organizations must exert their pressures to end the scandal of discrimination in the city's schools. The Negro and Puerto Rican parents of the city are outraged at the rapid increase in segregated schools in the city.

" 'The Negro and Puerto Rican voters must be assured that no school construction money will be used for further segregation of the schools.' "

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 16.

5. Marxist Educators Quizzed

"THE HOUSE Un-American Committee tried another comeback last week in Washington, this time at the expense of education, and particularly of the only public institution of Marxist education in the country at present, New York's Faculty of Social Science."

"The opening statement by Committee Chairman Francis Walter, followed by the hour-long testimony of a stool-pigeon, Frank S. Meyer, showed the committee wasn't after information but sought to punish ideas....

"THE COMMITTEE got no help from the subpoenaed witnesses, who refused to answer its questions, citing the Fifth Amendment."

"AT THE END of the hearings, the press was given a statement issued in the Faculty's name, which declared in part.

" 'The aim of the Faculty of Social Science is to provide a basic understanding of our country and people, their problems and their struggles, and the great movement of world history of which these struggles are a part...' "

The Worker,
August 2, 1959, p. 3.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Technical and scientific advances produced under socialism result from the freedoms of this social system.
2. A renewal of the Federal Arts Project would help to solve the economic problems of the American theater.
3. Visits to the United States by Soviet musicians and dancers have aroused interest in the Marxist approach to the arts and culture.
4. Increasingly, writers are falsely attributing the corruption and social decay in the United States to the masses.
5. Socialist "freedom of science" has demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist brand of science.
6. The scientific Marxist outlook on life embodies the ethical teachings of Jesus.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Scientific Advances under Socialism

"We are told about the magnificent scientific and technological advances of the people of the Socialist world. These can no longer be hidden. But we are told that these scientific marvels are produced in an atmosphere of slavery, by men and women who are enslaved.

"Such nonsense should insult our intelligence."

"These scientific achievements are the product of free men whose minds have been liberated from the meannesses that are the very essence of our daily lives."

The Worker,
December 13, 1959, p. 15.

"...Automation and the use of energy released from the atom are ushering in a new industrial-scientific-technological revolution. Common sense tells us that science in the service of man should be something to cheer about. But when science and new technology are in the hands of big business, whose interest is not the welfare of mankind but only the lust for more profits, then this great achievement, this beautiful gift of nature turns into its very opposite...."

"...Life has now brought forth ample proof that the social system that can give mankind the maximum benefits from the energy released from the atom and from automation is socialism...."

Gus Hall, "The Life of the Party Begins at Forty," Political Affairs, October, 1959, p. 7.

2. Commercialism in Art

"Economics haunt the theatre like the ghost of Hamlet's father."

"THE FEDERAL ARTS PROJECT of old, if renewed, would go a long way toward solving the economic problems of the theatre. Thereby the stage would be cleared for the actors and it would be a larger stage."

"Actors could devote themselves to acting and leave cost-accounting and ticket-taking and television commercials to those talented in these fields. Let the ad agency boys read the television commercials! They write them. Perhaps if they had to read them, they would not write them. Though whatever the fate of the television commercial would be once commercialism were cleared from the theatres, then art would be freed from its kitchen-sink hiding places off-Broadway."

The Worker,
November 1, 1959, p. 10.

3. Soviet Culture

"THE ENTHUSIASTIC appreciation here in the United States for the gifted musicians and dance groups that have visited us from the Soviet Union, along with the rising respect for Soviet achievements in science--two fields that to some minds are mutually exclusive--has aroused considerable interest in the Marxist approach to the arts and culture. For the visitors possessed not only a consummate technical equipment, but also a quality known as 'heart,' together with a veneration for a cultural past which the West likes to consider peculiarly its own. It would be hard to prove at this moment that this humanist tradition and heritage is as secure in the West...."

Sidney Finkelstein, "Art and Ideology,"
Political Affairs, July, 1959, p. 35.

4. Social Decay in the United States

"Corruption, moral rot, social decay, ineffable hypocrisy surround us in the United States...."

"...There is...a tendency to place the onus for the decay upon the alleged failing of democracy, or the asserted low standards of the masses or the 'rabble.' In reality, this device, with which democracy and popular sovereignty are attacked, itself is a prime demonstration of the social and moral decay not of the masses of the people, but of the ruling class whose system of monopoly capitalism is in crisis, and is creating more and more intolerable material, political, cultural, and psychological contradictions and deprivations.

"Increasingly, this false ascribing to the masses of people themselves as the source of the decay is cropping up in the writings not only of reactionaries and conservatives, where it is to be expected, but also in the writings of liberal and progressive-minded people where its power to confuse and disorient is even greater...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, November, 1959,
pp. 32, 33.

5. Soviet Freedom of Science

"SOVIET SCIENCE IS FREE of the profit motive.

"No profit-making 'arsenal concept' causes 'stagnation' of their work. No billionaire corporations force them to waste time and funds producing 'gadgets' and mass producing missiles that do not work merely because such production is profitable to a handful of capitalists.

"Socialism entrusts scientific work to the scientists. Soviet scientists have complete control of their own work, their basic research, their laboratories. And the results are clear for all to see.

"The success of the Luniks and Sputniks is the result of scientific freedom! Socialist freedom of science!"

The Worker,
October 11, 1959, p. 3.

"For the first time, the genius of mankind, its forces unleashed by the October Revolution in Russia, burst the fetters of gravity to land a sphere on the moon, fulfilling the most fantastic dream of millions of years.

"Thus did the socialist society of the Soviet Union once again demonstrate its superiority in the science and technology of space discovery, which began with the Sputnik and continued with the Mehta, the man-made planet now speeding around our sun."

The Worker,
September 20, 1959, p. 1.

6. Religion and Marxism

"... Many will see, as Khrushchev said in several of his speeches, that anyone who has a scientific Marxist outlook on life, also embodies in his views the ethical teachings of the Prince of Peace, the Man who chased the money-lenders, the usurers, from the temple.

"MOST AMERICANS saw that Khrushchev favored exactly the things they wanted: not only peace, but a better life, the equality of all, the end to poverty and degradation...."

"...Khrushchev's own views of religion--you have a right to worship and I have a right not to worship--made sense to most religionists. He reiterated the right of conscience of worship in his country. He was no church-burner, as the Bolsheviks had been pictured through the years by their enemies."

The Worker,
October 4, 1959, p. 14.

XI. WOMEN

1. Support must be given to a united effort to guarantee full suffrage to all women.
2. Women in socialist nations enjoy true equality with men.
3. American women protest the violence to which Negro women in South Africa are being subjected.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Woman Suffrage

"NEXT YEAR marks the 40th anniversary of the winning of woman's suffrage, through the passage of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Does this mean that universal adult suffrage prevails in our country since then, as a right of all citizens? Far from it. Millions of Americans in the South are denied the right to vote, by force and violence, poll taxes, so-called 'character tests', and literacy tests full of tricky questions. Over 200 local laws have been passed in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and elsewhere, deliberately planned to prevent Negro citizens from voting.

"Half at least, of those who are barred from going to the polls are Negro women. The 19th Amendment is a dead letter for them. They remained disinfranchised in fact."

"THE NAACP is carrying on a campaign for three million Negro voters in the South, by 1960. It is a hard, up-hill fight and needs widespread publicity and support."

"Sojourner Truth, a powerful orator, was a pioneer Negro woman advocate of votes for women. Her memory and tradition should be revived today, in a united effort to guarantee full suffrage for all women."

The Worker,
October 25, 1959, p. 9.

2. Women under Socialism

"...In the Lands of Socialism, men and women are equal and unless you see it, coming out of capitalism, you can't really believe it. The women are well groomed, on the whole; but they are not on display. They are working and producing; they are full-fledged citizens with all the rights and duties of men. Your ship may be piloted by a woman; the person in charge of the power plant may be a woman; the editor-in-chief of a publication issued in 9 languages and having about 70 editorial workers may be a woman; the Cabinet Minister may be a woman; the Prime Minister of a Republic may be a woman; the worker handling the crane may be a woman. In all cases, they may be men or women; one never knows or assumes or, apparently, notices. The relationship between men and women--and girls and boys--therefore, has a freedom and comradeship about it, a functioning equality, that is... quite astonishing and heartening."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, October, 1959, p. 36.

3. Defenders of South African Women

"WHILE LEAFLETS protesting the recent police beatings of South African Negro women were distributed... a delegation of women presented a statement to the office of the Consul-General of the Government of South Africa...

"Identifying themselves as American women-garment, shoe and millinery workers on their lunch hour, and housewives-varied in their political, religious and community affiliations and beliefs, the group declared themselves as one in their revulsion against the violent inhuman treatment accorded South African Negro women."

"We American women express our admiration and support of the brave South African Negro women who are showing such courage in fighting for their dignity and for the freedom and future of their children. Their militant actions serve to spur all American democratic-minded women in their fight against racial segregation here in the United States. We extend a fraternal hand to the Negro women of South Africa."

**The Worker,
August 2, 1959, p. 9.**

XII. YOUTH

1. The Party must persist in its support of the formation of a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country.
2. The "decay and corruption of capitalism" encourages the disorientation of American youth.
3. Youth is responsible for much of the racial violence in the South.
4. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Children must be made a program of action in the United States.
5. United States press coverage of the World Youth Festival was shameful.
6. In Communist China, juvenile delinquency presents no problem.
7. West German youth is being indoctrinated through books "glorifying war in general."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Marxist Youth Organization

"...It is...indispensable that a new youth organization should be formed as quickly as possible. At the beginning, the youth movement will be pretty much a Communist organization, but it must be broadened out in the mass work...."

William Z. Foster, "On the Draft Resolution," Political Affairs, December, 1959, pp. 51-52.

"The Party must give special consideration to the problems and mass struggles of American youth. It must give its support to the building of

a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country. Attention to work among the national groups must be restored. In this connection, it is necessary to combat the erroneous idea that these groups are disappearing as significant forces in the American scene."

"Draft Political Resolution,"
Political Affairs, September, 1959,
p. 42.

2. Juvenile Delinquency

"The decay and corruption of capitalism, which threatens atomic destruction, results in violence against the Negro people in the South and spawns crime and encourages the disorientation of our youth.

"The martyrdom today being suffered by Negro and Puerto Rican youth is already affecting all youth. What is happening will continue unless corruption and chauvinism by profiteers, government officials, and chiseling landlords are curbed."

"The broadest unity of the people, the labor movement, parents and youth organizations is needed. The youth of the city need decent homes, decent education, a perspective of decent jobs and equality of relationship and friendship of all young people; Negro, Puerto Rican and white."

The Worker,
September 13, 1959, p. 16.

3. Youth Involved in Racial Violence

"...even more than the shocking violence and complete disregard of human rights being shown in the South, it is quite as alarming to view the participation of young people in these incidents.

"There is a serious question whether young white people in the South are being taught even the modicum of appreciation for human dignity and integrity...."

"...the most frightening aspect of all the acts of violence in the south. Except in the Mack Parker case (whose murderers are 'unknown'), these incidents of violence have not been committed by professional thugs, or Ku Klux Klan members. They have been committed by--let's face it--brutalized youth, who are fully capable of leading a responsible life in the white community, but whose ideas of justice and decency vanish when they see persons of different color."

The Worker,
July 5, 1959, p. 6.

4. United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Children

"THE SOCIAL, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the UN Assembly has given the peoples of the world a new and magnificent document-- A Declaration of the Rights of Children.... *

" 'Mankind,' states the committee, 'owes to the child the best it has to give'; it adds, 'regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.'

"Although the Declaration was formally approved Oct. 19th there can be little wonder that the big business press of this country has given it scant attention."

"No American has to ask how the governments of Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and other southern states will take this provision. How will the big landlords of California, the employers of thousands of

*Declaration of the Rights of the Child

hapless migrant Mexican-Americans and their children respond to this covenant, or the Colorado sugar beet kings whose wealth flows from the bleeding hands of children?"

"Delegations seeking the implementation of this declaration should be mobilized to march to the White House demanding that President Eisenhower call for legislation to make this document the property of the nation. Who better than the youth can make this declaration a program of action?"

The Worker,
November 8, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

5. World Youth Festival

"ONE OF THE MOST scandalous pieces of journalism of all time--possibly an all-time low--can be found in the way the N. Y. Times and other U. S. papers have been 'covering' the World Youth Festival in Vienna. The Times did not exactly duplicate the Viennese capitalist press, which threw a blanket of silence over the event, not one word about it appearing even in the Austrian social-democratic periodical. The leading U. S. journal has contented itself with describing alleged 'brawls', and 'fracases' between 'Communists' and 'anti-Communists', declaring that the latter's brilliant remarks put the 'Communists' to shame."

The Worker,
August 9, 1959, p. 15.

6. No Juvenile Delinquency Problem in Red China

"...The phrase 'juvenile delinquency' cannot be translated into Chinese....in China if a young person neglected duty, was careless or showed tendencies towards wrongdoing, it was because he had not been properly guided and had not been integrated into the social group. It was

explained that when Shanghai and Canton were liberated there were many young petty thieves, beggars and prostitutes who were taken into the care* of the State, healed in body and spirit and, for the first time in their lives, offered the opportunity of living a clean and rewarding life.* These young people were never treated as criminals, but as victims.*

"...there was little place and no reason for juvenile delinquency in a land where every young person knows* he is important* and that he is needed. The most agile minds are richly rewarded for effort in any creative activity. Recognition, appreciation and praise give the youth every incentive to harness his energies for constructive efforts. There is no reason for frustration, discouragement or feelings of insecurity."

Shirley Graham, "Hail the People's Republic of China!" Political Affairs, October, 1959, pp. 29-30.

7. West German Youth

"BERLIN. --One of the most dangerous and sinister aspects of West German rearmament is the intensive drive of the militarists to once again win the German youth as cannon fodder. In this drive, the conscious propagation of books glorifying war in general, and Hitler's war in particular, plays a major role."

"Franz Joseph Strauss, west German minister of defense, was a 'morale' officer in Hitler's army. He knows how to train young men to become beasts of prey, to kill for the sadistic joy of it, and the mass circulation of these indoctrination books serves to raise a new army of mass murderers."

The Worker,
December 20, 1959, p. 10.

*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.